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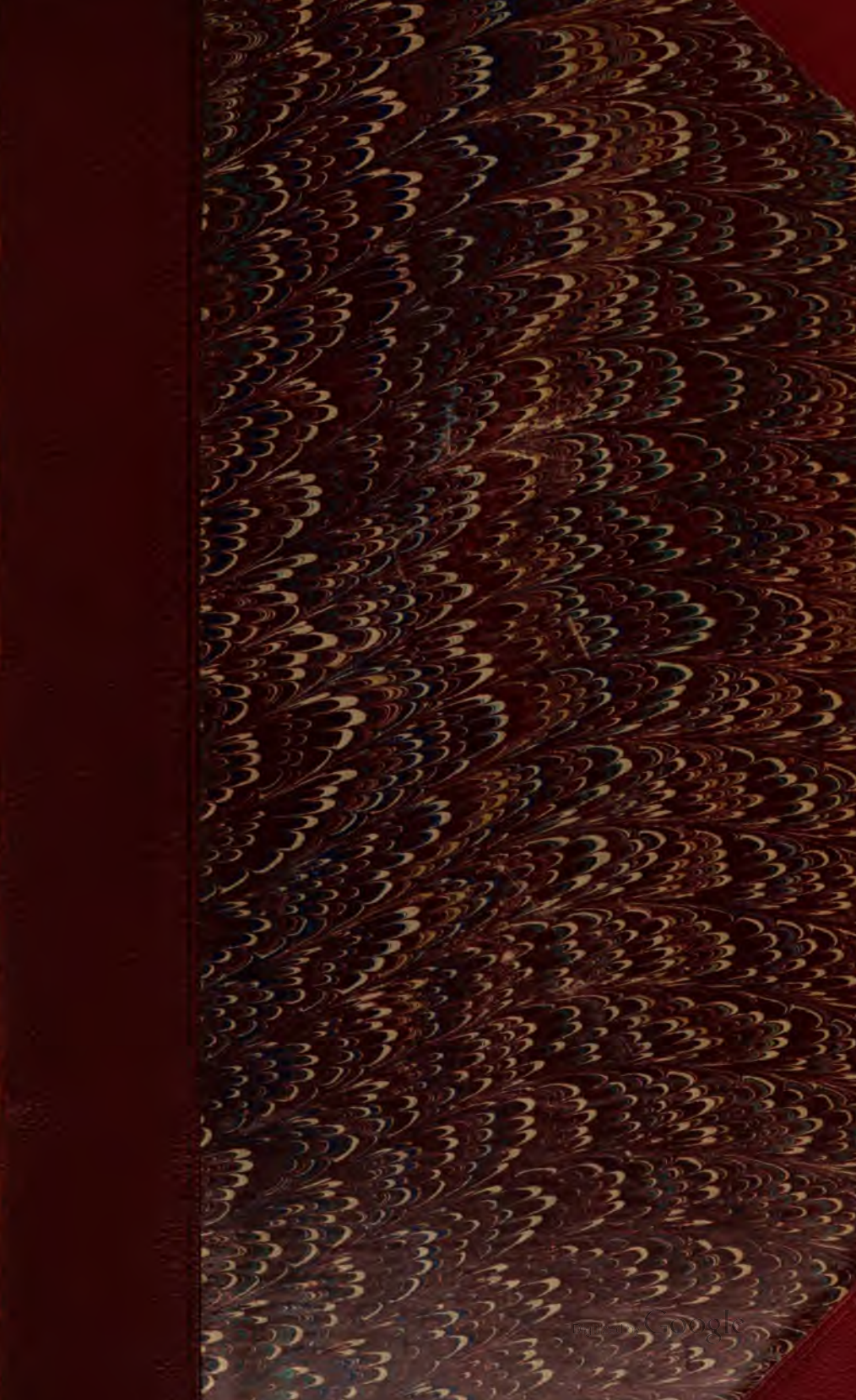
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*The Countess of Albany.*

*Designed by Mr. Boucher, and engraved by J. Smith, 1780.*

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## HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

HIS OWN TIME.

BY

SIR N. W. WRAXALL, BART.

*Igitur ubi Animus requievit, non fuit Consilium Secordia atque Desidia bonum Otium conterere; neque vero Agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus Officiis intentum, Etatem agere. Sed a quo Incepto Studio me Ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui Res gestas carptim, ut quæque Memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a Spe, Metu, Partibus Reipublicæ, Animus liber erat.*

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# HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

## OF MY OWN TIME.

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### PART THE FIRST.

HAVING long meditated to compose some account of the national Events which I have witnessed during a part of my life, I have postponed the publication of the work, till nearly all those persons of whom I must have occasion to speak, were removed from the scene. In fact, with the exception of a very small number of individuals, respecting whom I have been silent ; scarcely any of the leading Characters now survive, who supported or opposed Lord North, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Earl of Shelburne, or the *Coalition* Administration. The lapse of more than thirty years, has removed every objection of that nature ; and the

VOL. I.

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respect that I owe to myself, has impelled me to dismiss from my mind, before I undertook these Memoirs, every species of bias or partiality. Not that in point of fact, it is possible to speak of recent or contemporary Events as we would write of transactions that took place under Henry the Eighth ; nor to contemplate Fox and Pitt with the degree of abstraction and composure, that we regard Marius and Sylla. Such philosophic superiority to passion, whatever pretensions to it may be set up, is not given to man.

Tacitus, who wrote of events recently performed, and who intended, as he himself assures us, if he should attain to old age, to compose the history of his own Times ; says, “ *Dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano inchoatam, a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius provectam, nunquam abnuerim : sed incorruptam fidem professis, nec amore quisquam, et sine odio dicendus est.*” If I might be allowed to parody the words of that Historian, applying them to myself, I should say,—“ That I consider “ George the Third, notwithstanding the “ many errors of his government, which “ were most conspicuous in the beginning “ of his reign, as one of the best Princes “ who ever governed this Country, I readily

“ confess : neither will I deny that I cannot  
“ recall the idea of Lord North, unconnected  
“ with those engaging or elevated qualities  
“ of mind and of deportment, which conciliated the affection even of his opponents.  
“ Lastly, that Lord Sackville honoured me  
“ with his friendship, and shewed me marks  
“ of confidence, I avow with pride and satisfaction. But, none of these circumstances  
“ would induce me to conceal or to mis-  
“ represent any fact, for the purpose of  
“ drawing a veil over their errors or political transgressions.” I may further add,  
that never having held any Employment,  
under any Minister, at any period of my  
life, I neither can be accused of divulging  
official secrets ; nor am I linked, in however humble a degree, with any of those  
Ephemeral Administrations, which took place  
with such rapidity between 1782 and 1784.  
I relate the events that I either witnessed,  
or of which I received the accounts from respectable testimony. How imperfect a light,  
these sources of information enable me to  
throw on the Period of Time that I attempt  
to elucidate, I am fully aware : but, unfortunately, those individuals who, from their rank

and situation, know most of the secrets of affairs, will generally divulge least; and even imperfect light is preferable to darkness.

I cannot indeed boast of having enjoyed the same advantage as Dr. *Burnet*, Bishop of Salisbury, who, in the "History of his own Time," says, "I have had the honour to be admitted to much free conversation with five of our Sovereigns, King Charles the Second, King James the Second, King William the Third, Queen Mary, and Queen Anne." But, between 1780 and 1794, during all which period I sat in Parliament, I possessed many means and opportunities of knowing various facts, from high authority; and, in some instances, of ascertaining their secret causes or springs. Lord *Clarendon* and *Burnet* are almost the only persons of eminence among us, who have commemorated with ability, and at considerable length, the events of their own Time. We cannot sufficiently regret that *Prior* did not live to accomplish the same task. That he meditated and intended it, is evident from the words of his Epitaph in Westminster Abbey:—

*" Sui Temporis Historiam meditantī,  
Paulatim obrepens Febris  
Operis simul et Vitæ, Filum abruptit.  
Sep. 18. An. Dom. 1721."*

The work which was actually published under that name in 1740, contained only some of the materials collected for it. If we consider the official or diplomatic situations that *Prior* occupied from 1690 down to 1714; and the intimate friendship in which he lived with Charles, Earl of Dorset, the Lord Treasurer Harlow, and Lord Bolingbroke; we must admit that few men could have been more competent to elucidate the Reigns of William the Third, and of Anne.

How much have we to lament that the late Mr. Fox, during his long exclusion from public Employment, between 1790 and 1805, while in retirement at St. Anne's Hill, did not occupy himself in composing the History of his own Time! Aspiring, as he did, not only to the Fame of a Statesman and an Orator, but to the praise of an Historian; how infinitely more valuable a legacy might he have bequeathed to his Countrymen, how much more durable a Monument might he have erected



to himself, by such an exertion of his talents, than he has done by exhausting his efforts on the Reign of James the Second! Not that I would be understood to express any sentiment allied to disrespect, relative to the work which Lord Holland, with pious veneration for his Uncle's memory, has given to the world. Every page of that short and unfinished production, is worthy of its author, and raises him in my estimation. The "Introductory Chapter" can hardly be exceeded for profound reflexion, elucidated by a severe and philosophic cast of thought, as well as by the most accurate and laborious disquisition of facts. Impartial, ardent for freedom, and indignant against Tyrants, the writer is nevertheless exempt from the spirit of Republicanism. The small portion of James's reign which follows, including Argyle's and Monmouth's Invasions, may in a great measure be characterized by similar Epithets; and excites regret, from presenting only a Fragment. But if, instead of collating Rapin, Hume, and Burnet; or employing his time on the inspection of Documents in the *Dépôt des Archives* at Paris; he had dedicated it to a delineation, however simple, of the great political Scenes in which he had

acted so distinguished a part; with what avidity should we not have perused the work! We might then have beheld as in a mirror, the Secret History of the *Rockingham*, and the *Coalition* Administrations, drawn by a master hand, which had propelled the ostensible Ministers of the two periods. It was thus that Clarendon, beguiled the hours of unmerited Disgrace and Exile, when he wrote his "History of the great Rebellion." The Cardinal de Retz, a man to whom Mr. Fox bore some Analogy in certain features of his political life, of his Character, and Fortune; made the best atonement to his Country, and to Posterity, for the irregularities and agitations which marked the Zenith of his Career, by tracing with his own hand, in his decline, the outline of those Transactions which he had guided or produced. We forget his deviations from prudence, his faction, and his Ambition, in the elegance of his Genius, and the ingenuous disclosure of his errors.

Perhaps no portion of time in the course of the two last Centuries, offers, proportionably to its duration, so few of those interesting Anecdotes where the Sovereign comes personally forward to our inspection, as the

reign of George the Third. The reason is obvious, and arose out of the King's character. Charles the Second, and Lewis the Fourteenth, surrounded by Mistresses, and all the dissipation of a Court, presented to Burnet, to Grammont, or to Voltaire, perpetual matter of entertaining recital. Even George the First and Second offered some resources of a similar nature, to Lord Melcomb, for his "Diary;" and to Horace Walpole, for his "Reminiscences." But, His present Majesty's whole life, from the age of twenty-two, down to the lamented period at which he ceased to reign, was passed either in the severe and exemplary discharge of his *public* duties of every description; or in the bosom of his family, amidst *domestic* sources of amusement. In his agricultural occupations, or when engaged in the diversions of the field, he was only seen by a few Individuals who from their official situations or dignity, had access to his person. No splendid assemblies of both sexes, or festive entertainments, to which Beauty, Rank, and Pleasure in a comprehensive sense, must have contributed; by levelling him in some measure with his guests, presented him to view, divested of the forms of Royalty. Unlike

his predecessor, who even at an advanced age, still preserved a relish for those enjoyments; equally unlike his Son, the present Regent, whose graceful Manners, dignified Affability, and splendid Taste, have rendered his Palace the Center of Pleasures; George the Third, while a young man, neither frequented Masquerades, nor ever engaged at Play, nor protracted the Hours of convivial Enjoyment, nor passed his evenings in society calculated to unbend his mind from the fatigues of Business, and the vexations of State.

All the splendor of a Court was laid aside, or only exhibited for a few hours, on a Birthday. Rarely, during the first twenty years after his Accession, did he join in any scene of public amusement, if we except the diversion of the Theatre. Still more rarely did he sit down at table with any of his Courtiers or Nobility. His repasts, private, short, and temperate, never led to the slightest excess. Hence, his enemies endeavoured to represent him, most unjustly, as affecting the state of an Asiatic Prince; scarcely ever visible except on the Terrace at Windsor, or in the Circle, at a Levee. "Junius," who

saw him through the most unfavourable medium, and who converted his very virtues, into subjects of accusation, or of reproach; depicts St. James's as a Court, "where prayers are morality, and kneeling is religion." It was not till a period later than the point of time at which these Memoirs stop, that the King began to mix in a select Company, and occasionally to indulge in the pleasures of Society. Previous to the year 1784, it is only in the foreign or domestic transactions of his Reign, often only within the walls of one, or of the other House of Parliament, that the Materials can generally be found for writing the internal History of the Time. These Remarks, I am sensible, apply principally, though not exclusively, to the Portion of the present work where the Scene lies wholly in England; whereas the first Part traverses the Continent, through different Countries, from Portugal, round to Naples and Tuscany.

Soon after I had compleated my twenty-first year, in 1772, I went by Sea over to Portugal; in the Capital of which Kingdom, or in its vicinity, I staid a considerable time. Joseph, son and successor of John the Fifth,



then occupied the Throne; but the Kingdom was governed by the celebrated Count d'Oeyras, who had been recently created Marquis de Pombal. Few First Ministers, during the course of the last Century, displayed greater talents for administration, or exercised more unlimited authority. The King, though only third in order of descent, was fourth in succession from the Duke of Braganza, denominated John the Fourth, who in 1640 recovered Portugal from the Spanish dominion; and at the time of which I speak, he had passed his fifty-seventh year. He was of a good stature, but inclined to corpulency: his features regular, his eye quick and lively, if a habit of holding his mouth somewhat open, had not diminished the expression of intelligence, which his countenance would otherwise have conveyed. In his cheeks he had a high scorbutic humour, attributed commonly to excesses of Wine; though it might partly arise from violent exercise constantly taken under a burning Sun. His face, indeed, was nearly as dusky as that of a Moor; and at Fez or Mequinez, habited in the Turkish Dress, with a Turban on his head, he might easily have passed for Muley Ismael, the Sovereign of Morocco. Never had any Lusitanian

Peasant, coarser and darker Hands. One could not look at him, without recollecting how near are the Shores, and how similar are the Climates, of Portugal, and of Africa.

Two passions or pursuits, Hunting and Music, principally occupied his time, absorbed his thoughts, and divided his affections: nor was it easy to decide which of them possessed the strongest ascendant over him. In the former diversion he passed the far greater part of the day: to the latter amusement his evenings were principally or wholly dedicated, either in public, when at the Opera; or in private, with his family. No royal House in Europe was then so musical as that of Portugal. Joseph himself performed with considerable execution, on the Violin; and the three Princesses, his Daughters, all were proficient in a greater, or in a less degree, on different instruments. If he was prevented by the weather from going out to the Chace, the King had recourse for occupation, to his Manege. On Sundays, he seldom or never missed attending the Italian Opera in Lisbon; but he likewise maintained another Opera at Belem, his residence near the Capital. I have been present at this latter perform-

ance, to which, only foreign Ministers, Officers, persons belonging to the Court, and Foreigners of Condition, were admitted; all of them, gratuitously. The house itself was of very contracted dimensions; the Pit not being calculated to contain more than about one hundred and thirty individuals. Boxes, indeed, in the proper acceptation of the term, there were none; the King, Queen, and Royal Family, being seated in a Gallery fronting the Stage, elevated considerably above the body of the House. One small Box was constructed on each side; that on the right hand being appropriated to the Patriarch, or Head of the Portugueze Church, whom I have seen present at the performance. The other usually remained vacant, being reserved for any Stranger of high rank who might visit Portugal.

The circumstances which distinguished this Entertainment from any other of the same kind which I ever witnessed, and which may appear so extraordinary as hardly to obtain credit, consisted in the total exclusion of Women, not only from the Pit, but from the Stage; either as Spectators, or as Ac-

tresses. No female could obtain admission. The reason commonly assigned by the Court, for proscribing the whole Sex from any participation in an Amusement, of which, in all other European Countries, they constitute the principal ornament and the soul; was, that there were no proper places for ladies. But, it might have been answered, that nothing could be easier than to construct Side-Boxes for their reception. Even this reason could not explain their exclusion from the Stage, on which none except Italian *Castrati* were ever admitted to sing, or to perform any part. *Battistini*, who filled with great distinction the first female Characters, was selected and engaged, not only for his superior vocal excellence, but for his feminine appearance, and admirable resemblance to a Woman, when he was dressed in female attire. So complete indeed was the deception, that I think it never would have occurred to any uninformed person, to doubt for an instant, of his being what he personated. Even the *Ballets* were all performed by Men or Boys, habited in the Costume of Nymphs, Shepherdesses, and Goddesses. This exclusion of all Females, except the Queen and Princesses, rendered the Spectacle, though

otherwise magnificent in machinery and decorations, as well as scientific in point of musical execution; comparatively insipid, dull, and destitute of interest or animation. Incredible as it may seem, the passion of Jealousy constituted the cause of so singular a prohibition. The Queen of Portugal, though at this time she was considerably advanced towards her sixtieth year, yet watched every motion of her Husband, with all the vigilant anxiety of a young Woman. And in order the better to secure his personal fidelity, she wisely took care to remove from before his eyes, as much as possible, every temptation to inconstancy. The ladies in waiting, and Maids of Honour, who attended Their Majesties in public, must certainly have been selected for their want of all attractions; and they were besides, too far advanced in years, to be longer capable of inspiring any sentiment except respect. The Portuguese Females who accompanied Catherine of Braganza in 1662, when she came over to England, in order to espouse Charles the Second; whose total deficiency in personal Charms, is so eloquently described in the "*Mémoires de Grammont*"; could not possibly exceed in that particular,

the Attendants on Marianna Victoria, wife of Joseph the First.

Nor was her vigilance by any means confined to the Opera. She displayed the same apprehensions, and took similar precautions, against any rival or intruder in the King's affections, whenever he went out to the Chace. Whether the diversion was hunting, or shooting, or falconing, she was constantly at his side. No woman in Europe indeed rode bolder, or with more skill. Her figure almost defied the powers of description, on these occasions. She sat astride, as was the universal custom in Portugal, and wore English leather Breeches; frequently black; over which she threw a petticoat which did not always conceal her legs. A jacket of cloth, or of stuff, and a cocked hat, sometimes laced, at other times without ornament, completed the masculine singularity of her appearance. When, after having let loose the Falcon, she followed him with her eye in his flight, she always threw the reins on her horse's neck; allowing him to carry her wherever he pleased, fearless of accidents. She was admitted to be an excellent shot, seldom missing the bird at which she fired,

even when flying: but this Diversion had nearly produced a most tragical result; as, a few years before I visited Portugal, she very narrowly missed killing the King with a ball, which actually grazed his temple. Few princes in modern Times, have had more hair-breadth escapes from danger or assassination, than Joseph the First experienced; on which subject I shall have occasion to say much, in the course of these Observations.

In the year 1772, the Court of Lisbon offered scarcely any sources of amusement to a foreigner. Neither Levees, nor Drawing-rooms were ever held, except on Birth-days, and on a few particular festivals. The King, Queen, his brother Don Pedro, his three Daughters, and the young Prince of Beyra, lived all under the same roof, and inhabited a long wooden range of apartments at Belem, lower down the Bank of the Tagus than Lisbon. The terrors and recollection of the Earthquake of 1755, were so deeply impressed on their minds, that they preferred residing in a wooden Building, however mean in its Fabrication, or inconvenient, rather than encounter the perils annexed to

a stone Edifice. Joseph had never slept under a House, properly so denominated, during near seventeen years. Wherever he moved, either wooden Barracks or Tents, were provided for his accommodation. I have seen Tents pitched for his reception, in the fields adjoining the Palace of Maffra, while that immense and costly Edifice was totally abandoned, neglected, and unfurnished. These precautions, however singular, and almost pusillanimous, they may at first sight seem, were nevertheless necessary in Portugal. Experience had fully demonstrated, that the most solid, massy, and well-constructed Buildings of Stone, only exposed the inhabitant to greater, and more inevitable destruction, in the event of an Earthquake; because the resistance made by such materials to the undulation or shock, produced their overthrow. On the contrary, any Structure composed of wood, supported, like the Barracks inhabited by the Royal Family, on pillars of the same materials; yielding to the concussion of the Earth, rocked and waved with the convulsion, thus escaping its worst effects.

No splendor or exhibition of state was



maintained by the King of Portugal, who, though he scarcely ever failed to attend, with the Royal Family, every week, at the Bull Feasts, and at the Italian Opera in Lisbon, yet was always understood to be present incognito. The only deviation from this practice or Etiquette, took place when the Court went annually, as was the invariable custom in time of Carnival, about the middle of January, to the Palace of Salva Tierra, situated several leagues higher up the Tagus than the Metropolis. The King remained there till the month of March, and all the foreign Ministers usually attended him. Hunting parties, to which strangers of Condition were admitted, constituted the occupation of the day; followed in the evening by an Opera, like that of Belem, open gratuitously to all such persons as had been presented to the Sovereign. I was assured that Joseph expended no less a sum than about forty thousand Pounds Sterling annually, on the diversion of the Opera. Yet he was likewise fond of Play, and passed much time at the Card table. Previous to the memorable Earthquake of 1755, he was considered as temperate, drinking usually water at his meals: but, such was the effect pro-

duced on his mind, and so severe the dejection of spirits which he experienced, after that awful visitation of Providence, that it was apprehended, his Health would be seriously affected by it. His physicians prescribed the use of wine, as necessary to restore his Constitution; a prescription which proved so agreeable to the patient, that it was commonly believed, His Majesty indulged himself too freely in its use. At an earlier period of his life, he was supposed to have been guilty of excesses of another kind, and to have given the Queen, frequent occasion for jealousy: nor had the partiality of Joseph towards the Sex, by any means become extinct with the decline of years. But his attachments or amours, were always secret, decorous, and conducted with a becoming regard to public opinion, as well as with a due attention to his domestic and conjugal felicity. No Mistress, like Madame de Pompadour, or Madame du Barry in France, under Louis the Fifteenth; or Madame Chevalier at Petersburg, under Paul the First, dishonoured and disgraced the Court of Portugal.

Joseph, considered in his kingly character

and capacity, though not to be ranked among the first Princes in vigor and ability, who then reigned in Europe, was not deficient in talents or qualities befitting the Throne. If he felt his own inability to govern, he demonstrated no common discernment and force of mind, in the selection of a Minister, to whom he delegated that office. The Marquis de Pom- bal exercised in fact, all the functions of the Monarchy. He possessed nearly as unlimited an ascendant over his Master, as the Cardinal of Lerma did over Philip the Third, or the Condé d'Olivarez over Philip the Fourth, Kings of Spain ; and was accustomed to transact public business with his Sovereign, at hours and seasons usually dedicated to pleasure, or lost in sleep. The King very frequently signed papers of the greatest consequence after midnight, before he retired to rest ; at which time the Marquis commonly waited on him for the purpose. The hereditary superstition which characterized the house of Braganza, and in the practice of which Joseph himself had been educated ; which distinguished his father John the Fifth, and which survived in the present reigning Queen, till she became alienated in mind ; by no means existed in

him. The seizure and expulsion of the Jesuits, a measure of great energy, and not unaccompanied with danger; sufficiently manifested his superiority to the bigotted veneration felt for that order of men, among the majority of his subjects. If he possessed, himself, no taste for the fine arts, nor evinced any passion for learning and polite letters, he at least extended protection to their professors. During the period of two and twenty years that he had then reigned since the decease of John the Fifth, a great and salutary change had taken place among the Portuguese, in all the attainments of a civilized people. Establishments for the education of the young Nobility and Gentry, had been founded, which would have done honor to Great Britain; and which, though originating with the Minister, yet could only have been fully accomplished by the consent of the Sovereign.

These laudable acts of Government, were nevertheless contrasted with corresponding defects of Administration; some of which might be justly attributed to the Marquis de Pombal, while others seemed personally to reproach the King. The people universally

and loudly complained of oppression. In the royal Household, mismanagement prevailed to such a degree, that almost all the domestic Servants and menial Attendants of the Court, having been unpaid for several years, were in the lowest stage of distress. The reverse had been the case under his predecessor John the Fifth. Joseph's revenues were commonly supposed to amount to two Millions Sterling, while the national expenditure did not usually exceed a moiety of that sum. Yet the footmen who followed the royal Carriages in public, were left almost without the means of even procuring sustenance. I never saw the King and Queen in any Carriage, except a sort of Caleche, or Chaise, drawn by two Mules of no uncommon Beauty. In this Equipage, which was nothing less than royal, they always attended the Bull Feasts. When Her Majesty accompanied the Princesses her daughters, to say Mass, or to perform her devotions, at some Church in the vicinity of Lisbon, she was drawn in a Coach, with only a pair of horses of a very inferior description, and such a set of Harness as we should scarcely consider to be good enough for a Hackney-Coach. About forty Horse-guards accompanied them, and

they generally distributed some money to the populace, or rather the beggars, who assembled in groups at the door of the Church.

I went, one day, to look at the royal Carriages, kept at Alcantara, about a mile out of Lisbon. There were at least thirty; some of which had cost, as the people assured me, two hundred thousand Crusadoes, or twenty thousand Pounds Sterling. They were very magnificent, and had all been built either in Rome, or at Paris. London had not then begun to supply the Continent with that article of luxury. Among the royal Carriages, I was struck with the Coach in which John the Fourth made his public entry into the Capital, after recovering Portugal from the Spaniards. It nearly realized the descriptions given us of those vehicles, soon after their first appearance or invention in the sixteenth Century. The Carriage in question, which had been constructed in 1641, was consequently above a hundred and thirty years old, at the time when I saw it; and might more properly be denominated a Chamber on wheels, than a Coach in the modern acceptance of the term, as it was capable of containing ten or twelve persons with the utmost

convenience. The sides were open ; the windows resembling the lattices of our farm-houses, divided into small panes, with casements for the admission of air. It was preserved with pious veneration, as a monument of the Emancipation of the Kingdom by the first Prince of the House of Braganza. Henry the Fourth was seated in just such another Coach, when he was stabbed by Ravailac, in the year 1610, in the Rue de la Ferronerie, at Paris.

Joseph the First had twice escaped from a similar fate to that of Henry : the first time, in 1758 ; and the last, only two years before I visited Lisbon. The former attempt, which occupies a memorable place among the tragical events of the Eighteenth Century, may rank with Damien's attempt on Louis the Fifteenth's life, in 1755 ; and with the attack made in 1771, on Stanislaus, King of Poland. I allude to the conspiracy of the Duke d'Aveiro, and the Marquis de Tavora, in 1758 ; all the leading particulars of which, I have often heard recounted by contemporary witnesses. The Duke d'Aveiro, whose family name was Mascarenhas, descended from Don George, a natural son of John the Se-

cond, King of Portugal, one of the most illustrious Princes who has reigned in modern ages; the contemporary of our Henry the Seventh; and to whose exertions we owe in an eminent degree, the discovery of a passage to India, round the Cape of Good Hope. D'Aveiro's talents appear to have been very moderate, and his courage very equivocal: but, his temper, ferocious, as well as vindictive, rendered him capable of embracing the most flagitious measures for the gratification of his revengé. The King of Portugal's escape, which was altogether fortuitous, resulted from the coolness or presence of mind, manifested by the Coachman who drove the royal Carriage. For, this man, finding that several shots or balls had passed through it behind, and not doubting that Joseph was wounded; instead of proceeding forward, immediately turned round his Mules, and took the road that led to the house of the King's Surgeon. By this sudden and unexpected Manœuvre, Joseph avoided falling into the hands of four other armed parties of Conspirators, who were posted at different places, where it was known he must pass in his way to the Palace.



A woman, the old Marchioness of Tavora, formed the soul of this sanguinary enterprize, which conducted the principal persons engaged in it, to a cruel and ignominious death. Revenge, heightened by personal enmity towards the King and the first Minister, who had refused to raise the Marquis of Tavora, to the dignity of a Duke; rather than any well ascertained intention, or expectation of subverting the Government, and dethroning the Braganza Family; seem to have stimulated the Conspirators to so atrocious an undertaking. Precisely similar motives impelled the late Duke of Orleans to produce those commotions, which eventually overturned the French Throne, and led to the horrors of the Revolution. It was not in the first Instance, Ambition, or the hope of reigning, so much as personal hatred and revenge. The late Duke of Dorset, who, from the situation that he occupied during several years, as Ambassador to the Court of Versailles, had opportunities of obtaining the most authentic information, has many times assured me of this fact. He knew it from Marie Antoinette herself. She constituted the principal object of the Duke of Orleans's detestation, whose malignity was not so much levelled against

Louis the Sixteenth, as against the Queen. That Princess had given him many causes of aversion; one of which consisted in endeavouring successfully to prevent the marriage of his Daughter, Mademoiselle d'Orleans, with the Duke d'Angouleme. Marie Antoinette naturally wished to unite her own Daughter in marriage with the young Prince, as she thereby secured to her the succession to the throne of France, in case Louis the Sixteenth should not leave behind him any son. The Duke of Dorset told me, that, as early as 1786, or 1787, the Queen has said to him, on her seeing the Duke of Orleans at Versailles; "Monsieur le Duc, regardez cette homme là. Il me déteste, et il a juré ma perte. Je la vois dans ses yeux, toutes les fois qu'il me fixe. Il ne sera jamais content, jusqu'à ce qu'il me voit étendue morte à ses pieds." He lived in fact to witness her tragical end, but he survived her only a very short time.— I return from this Digression, to the Portuguese Conspirators. They executed their attempt, like men destitute of courage: for, if the first Band, who intercepted the King on his Return from Belem, had fired into the Carriage as he advanced, instead of wait-

ing, as they did, till he had passed, before they discharged their pieces, he must have fallen. The Ball with which he was wounded, passed between his side and his arm, tearing the flesh of both, but without inflicting any severe wound.

The consternation excited by the attempt, was augmented by the obscurity in which it was studiously enveloped ; the Court remaining for some weeks, in total ignorance of the authors of the Conspiracy ; as the Conspirators did, on the other hand, in equal uncertainty respecting the nature and consequences of the King's wounds. It is a fact, that the Duke d'Aveiro and the Marquis of Tavora repaired almost daily to the King's Apartment, to make their inquiries in person after his health ; expressing the utmost abhorrence of the Treason. They were even admitted to his presence ; but, in a Chamber intentionally kept so dark, as to render it impossible for them to ascertain the probability of his recovery. Meanwhile, the vigilance of the Marquis de Pombal, aided, as is said, by some imprudent expressions of the Duke d'Aveiro, enabled the Minister to trace, and to ascertain, the guilt of the Con-

spirators. They were then arrested, and brought to trial. The Duke d'Aveiro, the Marquis of Tavora, and his two sons, were broken on the Wheel; while the old Marchioness, who, in consideration of her sex, was sentenced to be beheaded, ascended the Scaffold with a firm step, betrayed neither fear nor contrition, and laid down her head on the Block, as she would have done on a pillow.

Haughty and imperious in her character, she was restrained by no considerations of pity or of humanity, when her vengeance, her Ambition, or her interest, impelled her. The meetings of the Conspirators were frequently held in a summer house, situate in the Garden of the Marquis of Tavora's Palace at Lisbon, with which it was connected by a long wooden Gallery. It happened that a young Portugueze lady, of noble extraction, but of reduced circumstances, who lived in the Marchioness's family, as her companion; surprized at observing lights, one evening, in this summer house, and altogether without suspicion of the cause; was attracted by curiosity to approach the place. As she advanced along the Gallery that led to it, she heard voices in earnest Conversation; and

on coming nearer, soon distinguished that of the Marchioness, who seemed to be animated by some cause, to a pitch of uncommon violence. She listened for a few seconds; and then, apprehensive of being discovered in such a situation, she was about to return from whence she came, when the door suddenly opening, the Marchioness herself appeared. Their surprize was mutual; and the latter demanded, with much agitation, what cause had brought her to that place? She answered, that her astonishment at observing lights in the summer house, had led her to ascertain the reason. "You have then, no doubt," said the Marchioness, "overheard our conversation?" The young lady protested that she was perfectly ignorant of any part of it; and that as soon as she distinguished the Marchioness's voice, her respect led her to return to the Palace, which she was about to do, at the moment when the door opened. But, the Marchioness, who had too much at stake to be so easily satisfied or deceived, assuming a tranquil air, and affecting to repose a confidence in her, "The Marquis and I," rejoined she, "have had a serious and a violent quarrel, "during the course of which, he had the

“rudeness to contradict me in the most insulting manner; and he even carried his audacity to such a point, as to give me the lie. I burst out of the room, unable to restrain my indignation, and no longer mistress of my emotions. Did you not hear him give me the lie at the time I opened the door?” “I did, Madam,” imprudently replied the unfortunate lady. Aware from that instant, that the nature of their meeting, and of the subjects agitated at it, was now in some measure discovered, she instantly determined to prevent the possibility of its being further divulged. Next Morning, the Body of the unhappy listener was found in one of the Streets of Lisbon, wrapt in a Sheet, scarcely cold, and the Blood still oozing from various wounds inflicted on her with a Dagger. It was universally believed at the time, that she had been put to death by secret directions, issued from the Palace of Tavora: but, the power of that great Family, and the frequency of similar spectacles in the Portuguese Capital, silenced all judicial inquiry into the causes of her tragical end. The Marchioness expiated her crime on the Scaffold. Her Daughter-in-law, the young Marchioness of Tavora, alone, who

was Daughter to the Duke d'Aveirò; exempted from the general destruction of her Family; either on account of her presumed innocence, or, as was pretended by others, from motives of private partiality on the part of the King, was immured in a Convent. She was, I believe, still living in 1772, under Confinement.

The second attempt made on Joseph's life, arose from the irritated feelings of a poor Portugeze Peasant. This man, driven to despair by the conduct of the King's Domestic Servants, who had forcibly seized on his Carts and Cattle; rushed furiously on His Majesty, as he was going out to hunt, and aimed a blow with a long pole at his head, which narrowly missed him. It happened at the Palace of Villa Viciosa, the ancient patrimonial residence of the Dukes of Braganza, where the King used sometimes to repair, for a short time. The Peasant was not executed, but still remained, as common rumor asserted, in a Dungeon at Belem, when I was in Portugal. Two such attacks, though of very opposite kinds, yet had rendered Joseph timid, and induced him to take many precautions for his preservation against similar efforts of private

vengeance, or of Treason. Even at the Italian Opera in Lisbon, which he scarcely ever failed to attend, yet when he went, as was his custom, between the Acts, from the royal Box in front of the stage, to a Side-Box, from which he viewed the *Ballets*; he always passed through a close passage well secured, constructed on purpose, with a view to protect his person from any act of violence.

Marianna Victoria, Queen of Portugal, and wife of Joseph, was a daughter of Philip the Fifth, King of Spain, by Elizabeth Farnese, his second wife, Heiress of that celebrated Family, and herself a woman of no ordinary talents. The Princess in question had been, as is well known, betrothed, when a child, to Louis the Fifteenth; was sent to France, and resided in that country during several years: but, on the death of the Regent Duke of Orleans, in December, 1723, when the Government fell into the hands of the Duke de Bourbon; one of the earliest acts of his Administration, was to dissolve the unfinished Marriage, and to send the Princess back to Madrid. In the year 1729, when she was not more than eleven, she was carried by her father, Philip, to Badajoz, and there married,



to Joseph, then hereditary Prince of Portugal, who, himself, had not attained his fourteenth year. The Nuptials were immediately solemnized; the Bride and Bridegroom being put into the same Bed together, in presence of the great Officers of the Court; but, it was near six years afterwards, in December, 1734, before she brought into the world a Daughter, the present Queen.

Marianna Victoria was said to have been very agreeable in her person, when young; but in 1772, no traces remained of that Beauty. Her figure was short and thick, her face red; her nose large, and her manner destitute of softness or elegance. There was, indeed, nothing feminine in her appearance or demeanour. Nevertheless, her Eyes, which were dark, lively, and piercing, retained their original lustre. She wore a profusion of Rouge; her neck and shoulders, whether at Church, at the Opera, or at a Bull Feast, being always bare; and she seemed to be not only in possession of health, but capable of supporting the roughest exercise, or most severe fatigue. Her arms were brown and sun-burnt, from her perpetually following the chase. Those persons who knew Her

Majesty well, always assured me that she neither wanted spirit, nor ability; though she never attempted to possess power, nor had ever attained any political influence. All her anxiety seemed to be confined to the person of her royal partner, and did not extend to the guidance of state affairs. If any opinion might be formed of her Religion, from her behaviour at Mass, she was assuredly no Bigot. I was accustomed to frequent, from motives of curiosity, the Church of the Necessidades, and that of St. Francisco da Paola, where she constantly attended, with the Princesses, her Daughters; and I may truly assert, that I never saw any woman who manifested so little attention while at her Devotions.

Of a widely different character from her Mother in that respect, was the Princess of Brazil, Maria, eldest of the three daughters of Joseph, and presumptive Heiress to the Crown of Portugal. In her, a gloomy and severe spirit of Superstition, formed the predominant feature. Her mind was said to be deeply impressed with the tragical Catastrophe of the Duke d'Aveiro and his associates, whose fate she was believed to lament,

as having been unmerited or unjust. To her reflections upon those terrible Executions, heightened by the remonstrances or reproaches of her Confessor, has been indeed generally attributed the subsequent alienation of her understanding. In her person, she was taller than either of her Sisters; as well as thinner; of a pale and wan Complexion, that seemed to indicate Melancholy; her features, prominent, strong, and altogether destitute of any attractions. In all the duties and departments of private life, she was exemplary. Married to her Uncle, only Brother to the King, they exhibited a model of nuptial felicity. The union, however repugnant to our modes of thinking, and in some measure contrary to Nature, yet had been fruitful; they had then two sons and a daughter living. The desire of preventing any possibility of a disputed Succession, between the collateral male Heir to the Throne, and the female in direct Descent, dictated this species of incestuous Marriage; which, whatever sanction it may derive from Antiquity, among the Ptolemies, or the Seleucidæ, and even among the Cæsars, can plead no parallel among the other royal Houses of modern Europe. It forms not the least sin.

gular circumstance of the transaction, that so far from any compulsion having been used to accomplish it, the Princess, from her early youth, entertained a strong partiality and attachment towards Don Pedro, her future Husband. She was near thirty-eight years old, when I visited Portugal.

All the talents of the female part of the Braganza Family, were said to be concentrated in Donna Maria Anna, second of Joseph's Daughters. Shorter and thicker in her person than the Princess of Brazil, she was more agreeable in her countenance; possessing a ruddy complexion, as well as a more animated expression of features. Her mind was likewise expanded, and her understanding cultivated by polite knowledge. Many of her hours were dedicated to reading, and she was regarded as superior to Bigotry. In addition to these solid endowments, she joined great taste and skill in Music, with a fine voice. Though the most accomplished of the three Sisters, she was nevertheless doomed to remain unmarried in her father's Court, having attained, in 1772, her thirty-sixth year. Nature had been in some respects more bountiful to the third

Princess, Donna Maria Benedicta, who was likewise considerably younger, being only six and twenty years old at this time. Though low in stature, clumsy, and much inclined to Embonpoint, her face was very handsome; her Eyes dark and eloquent, her Complexion fair, the Contour of her Countenance rather round than oval, and her features small, as well as delicate. But she was not considered to possess the superiority of mind that distinguished Maria Anna. About seven years before the time of which I speak, a treaty of Marriage had been set on foot between this Princess and the Emperor Joseph the Second, who was then recently become a widower, by the death of his first wife, a Daughter of Don Philip, Duke of Parma. The Negotiation proceeded so far, that preparations were made for transporting her from Lisbon to Flanders, in her way to Vienna; and a Ship, constructed expressly for the purpose in the Brazils, magnificently decorated, lay ready in the Tagus. But, the intrigues and exertions of the old Queen Dowager of Spain, mother of Charles the Third, and grandmother of the Princess herself; who was incensed at the endeavours of the Marquis de Pombal, to assume the ex-

clusive merit of this Alliance; rendered the plan abortive.

It is probable, and I have been so assured at Vienna, that the pretext used to indispose the Austrian Court from accomplishing the projected nuptials, was the representation made of the improbability of Maria Benedicta producing children, on account of her tendency to become large and corpulent in her Person. Incredible and unnatural as the Fact may seem, she was actually married, several years afterwards, in 1777, when turned of thirty years of age, to her own nephew, her sister's son, the young Prince of Beyra, eventual Heir to the Throne of Portugal. The Ceremony was performed in Joseph's apartments, as he lay expiring; and they lived together many years, but never had any issue. There seems to have been no rational excuse, or adequate motive assigned, for this second union in the same Family, which impresses with a degree of horror, or at least, of disgust; and was in itself the more remarkable, as the Portuguese women of condition seldom bear children, if not married before twenty-eight or thirty Years of Age. Catherine of Portugal, daughter of John the Fourth, who was

the wife of our Charles the Second, and who espoused him at an earlier age, I believe about twenty-four, never brought him any issue, male or female; but Burnet says, that the King himself told him, (Dr. Burnet) that "she had been with child." She even once miscarried, when considerably advanced in her pregnancy, if we may believe the same historical Authority: but, as Charles had no fewer, it is asserted, (I think by Dr. Lucas, in his *History of England*;) than fifty-three natural Children, by different Mistresses, in the course of his life; we must suppose that his failure of legitimate issue, originated on the side of his Queen. Some excuse may be suggested for the marriage of the eldest daughter of Joseph, with his brother, Don Pedro, where no direct male issue existed to inherit the Crown; but it was reserved for the family of Braganza to exhibit to mankind, in the Eighteenth Century, the extraordinary Spectacle of a youth of fifteen, espousing his own Aunt at thirty. From such a matrimonial Connexion, it can neither excite surprise nor regret, that no Descendants should have sprung.

The Prince of Beyra himself, eldest son

of the Princess of Brazil and of Don Pedro, was then the *Marcellus* of Portugal; towards whom all eyes were turned, and from whose future auspicious Government, political miracles were fondly anticipated. It may excite the more surprise that such expectations should have been entertained, when I add, that in 1772, he had only completed the eleventh year of his age. I have seen him many times, as he never failed to attend the Royal Family in public, at the Bull Feasts, at Church, and every where except at the Italian Opera; a Diversion for which he manifested a decided aversion. He was tall and manly for his age, though his face was pale and delicate; and he appeared to have a weak or defective sight. His features and his expression of Countenance, it must be admitted, indicated intelligence. The stories related of his capacity and dawning expansion of mind, had obtained very universal credit. Some well attested instances of the goodness of his disposition, and the liberality of his temper, I have heard, which seemed to be entitled to belief: but, no sort of inference, as to his future character, could be safely drawn from these tales. Joseph the First, during the reign of his father, had excited similar ex-



pectations, which he by no means fulfilled after he ascended the throne. His grandson, who was likewise named Joseph, died at about twenty-seven years of age, in 1788, of the small-pox, which the bigotted prejudices and ignorance of his Mother, had prevented her from giving him by Inoculation; leaving, as I before observed, no issue by his Aunt, to whom he had been married during several years.

With Don Pedro, father and great uncle to the Prince of Beyra, I shall conclude my remarks on the Royal House of Portugal. He was several years younger than the King; but, not inclined, like Joseph, to corpulency; of a sallow complexion; equally destitute in his person, as in his manners and address, of Elegance or Grace; and no way distinguished by natural endowments of any kind. He excelled in no exercises of the Body; and possessed in his features, no expression of Intellect. His faculties, which were indeed very contracted, rendered him altogether unfit for the conduct of public affairs. Possessing neither political power nor influence, he could only be considered as a fixture of the Court; and never was

any Prince a more perfect cypher. He enjoyed no Command, military or civil; not even a separate Establishment or Household. When the King hunted, Don Pedro accompanied him; as he equally did to the Opera, or to Mass; never absenting himself except on account of indisposition. He had constructed a Palace at Cayluze, about six English Miles from Lisbon; but Don Pedro never resided there, though he frequently attended his brother to the Chace; commonly alighting on those Occasions for a few minutes, in order to hear Mass at Cayluze. Those who knew him intimately, assured me that he was of a devout, friendly, and benevolent Disposition. On Joseph's decease, in February, 1777, when his Consort, the Princess of Brazil, became Queen in her own right, he was made King matrimonial, by the name of Don Pedro the Third; as Henry, Lord Darnley, became in Scotland, on his marriage with Mary Stuart. Don Pedro survived his elder brother above nine years, dying in May, 1786.

The public Entertainment or Exhibition which then distinguished Lisbon from all other Capitals of Europe, was the celebra-

tion of Bull Feasts. They were held every Sunday, during the Summer and Autumn. I have been present at many of them. However barbarous the Diversion might justly be esteemed, it is the only Spectacle that I ever witnessed, which could be said to realize in some measure, the Amphitheatrical Games of ancient Rome, exhibited in the Circus. They were already extinct in Spain, where Charles the Third had abolished them, on his ascending the Throne in 1759. Joseph and the Queen his wife, on the contrary, nourished the strongest partiality, or rather decided passion, for these Games of Moresco Origin; which they never failed to attend, unless prevented by illness. I have seen the King present there, though one of his Eyes was swelled and bandaged; caused by the effect of a spark that had flown into it from the flint of his fowling piece, when firing it at the Chace. Those persons who have formed their idées of Bull Feasts, from the entertaining descriptions of the Countess d'Aulnoi, which she has enlivened by amorous, as well as by tragical Adventures; and which were written at Madrid, under the reign of Charles the Second, last Prince of the Austrian line, in 1679 and 1680;

would have esteemed the diversion tame, as it was exhibited at Lisbon, before Joseph the First. Yet was it not altogether divested of something that reminded me of the Tournaments and Exercises of Chivalry, with which our imaginations are so warmly impressed in youth. The Portuguese Bull Feasts were celebrated in a large wooden Amphitheatre, capable of commodiously containing many thousand persons; surrounded with Benches below, to a considerable height, which were surmounted by tiers of Boxes. The *Arena* was very ample and spacious. When the Champion, who was about to engage the Bulls, gaily dressed, mounted on a spirited Horse, a Spear in his hand, appeared upon the Ground, and saluted the Corporation of Lisbon, as was the custom, the effect of the Spectacle is not easy to describe in adequate terms. From sixteen to twenty Bulls were regularly sacrificed, every Sunday; and though circular pieces of leather were fastened on their Horns, in order to prevent their ripping up or mortally wounding the Combatants, yet I have witnessed many very severe and several nearly fatal Accidents. Prodigious dexterity, vigour, and address, were displayed by some of the Horsemen: particularly by a

Castilian, who generally made his appearance, and whom I have often seen drive his spear, at the first thrust, direct into the Bull's Heart, when the Animal was running furiously at him. The Amphitheatre then rang with Applauses.

It frequently happened that the Bulls wanted spirit or inclination for the contest. In those cases, the Spectacle became rather a Butchery, than a Combat, or an Amusement: but, some of them would not have disgraced a Roman Amphitheatre, if, (as I have been assured was customary, a Century earlier,) their Horns, instead of being blunted or covered, had been filed and sharpened to a point. Several of the men who fought on foot, exhibited extraordinary agility and coolness in eluding the rage of the incensed Animal; but it must at the same time be remembered, that they were commonly six or seven combined, all armed with long Spears. I have seen Women engage the Bull, ride up, and wound him. Two in particular, who were *Dancerinas*, or Posture-girls; one, a Venetian, the other, a Spaniard, habited as Men, and sitting astride, possessed great firmness, and excited general admiration. Sometimes the

Bulls were furnished by the Court. I have beheld twenty killed in the course of three hours: eight of which were given by the King, as many more by Don Pedro his Brother, two by the Duke de Cadaval, and two, (however singular it may seem,) by the Patriarch of Lisbon. After having witnessed several of these Exhibitions, I confess that I became disgusted with them. The most interesting part of the Spectacle consisted in the assemblage of Spectators, particularly Ladies, who filled the Boxes. Even the seats in the Pit, were generally crowded with Females. The Queen, and her three Daughters, never failed to attend in the Royal Box; though they were considered to be there Incognito. However barbarous the Diversion must be regarded, it always reminded me of Milton's description of the Entertainments,

“ Where throngs of Knights and Barons bold,  
In weeds of peace, high triumphs hold;  
With store of Ladies, whose bright Eyes  
Rain influence, and judge the Prize.”

As soon as the Bull Feast ended, which was commonly about six o'clock, the King, Queen, and Royal Family immediately repaired to the Italian Opera, which was situ-

ate at a very inconsiderable distance, in the same quarter of Lisbon. Such was the invariable Usage or Etiquette, every Sunday. Yet, there, as at the Bull Feast, though seated in the front of the Theatre, they were supposed to preserve their Incognito. Joseph's Dress on these occasions, was always a full-trimmed suit of Silk, or of Cloth; either quite plain, or embroidered with white Silk; the sumptuary laws of Portugal prohibiting Embroidery of gold or silver. He wore a flowing tye-wig, as we see George the Second represented in all his portraits: and the Portuguese Order of *Christ*, across his Breast. The Queen and Princesses were covered with Diamonds; in particular, the Princess of Brazil: but the Queen alone wore Rouge, from the use of which her daughters abstained. During the course of the performance, His Majesty never failed to go round to his private Box, close to the Stage, in order to view the *Ballets*, after each of which he returned to the Royal Family. On these little excursions, which he always seemed to enjoy, and during which he generally made the best use of his time, with his Opera Glass, in contemplating the female part of the audience who filled the Side-Boxes, several Nq-

blemen accompanied him. The Count de Prado alone possessed the privilege of being seated, when attending the Sovereign; a mark of distinguished regard and predilection. To him Joseph appeared to communicate all his confidential discourse, while the other individuals in attendance, remained standing behind him. Even the Duke de Cadaval, though the sole person of that high rank in the kingdom of Portugal; there being no other since the extinction of the Dukedom of Aveiro; yet was never permitted to sit down, in company with the King. After the Count de Prado, the two Counts of Cantineida, and of Arcos, both sons of the Marquis de Marialva, whose name always brought Gil Blas before my imagination; enjoyed, in 1772, the highest place in Joseph's personal favor. The former, I mean the Count de Cantineida, was the only Nobleman in the kingdom, allowed by a special grace of the Crown, to drive in a Coach and six, with which Equipage the King himself had presented him.

The memorable Earthquake of the first of November, 1755, had impressed on almost every part of Lisbon, the most awful traces



of its existence and ravages, at the time when I visited that Capital. Many edifices still remained exactly in the condition that they were left by it; presenting such scenes of devastation and destruction, as would then have been vainly sought for elsewhere in any Part of Europe. Among them, the ancient Palace of the Dukes of Braganza, which was built on a commanding Eminence, in the Centre of the Metropolis; and the Cathedral of Lisbon, stood conspicuous. Both these majestic Structures hourly threatened to crush the Tenant, or the Devotee, who ventured to enter them. Yet the former pile was inhabited by various families or individuals, who, pressed by Necessity, sought shelter under the tottering roof; and Superstition or Devotion had consecrated Chapels in the latter, amidst the ruins of Altars and Domes, where Masses were daily celebrated. I was peculiarly led to visit the Cathedral, by the hope of finding the Tomb of Camöens, the celebrated Portugueze Poet, whose body, as I had been assured, was there interred. But, I could discover no proofs of any such Interment, though I made every inquiry; and I have reason to believe, after all the researches in my power, that as he unquestionably expired

in a public Hospital, of a disease which, from its contagious nature, resembled the Plague, he was thrown into a common Grave, with a number of other dead Bodies. It is certain that no Monument was ever erected to his Memory.

A striking, and a melancholy Conformity exists, between the Destiny of the two most illustrious men of Genius, whom Spain and Portugal have produced in modern Ages. I mean, Cervantès, and Camöens: a Conformity which reflects no honor on those Countries, nor on the Sovereigns and Ministers who thus abandoned them to the rigors of Adversity. Both served on the Expeditions undertaken against the Mahometans, in the capacity of private Soldiers; and both were wounded. Camöens lost an Eye, before the town of Ceuta in Morocco; and Cervantès lost his left hand, at the celebrated naval Battle of Lepanto, gained by Don John of Austria in 1571, over the Turks. Each of them underwent captivity, shipwreck, and all the calamities of adverse fortune. Returning to their native Country, both were admired, and deserted. John the Third and Sebastian, Kings of Portugal, seem to have done as little to

ameliorate the Condition of Camöens, as Philip the Second and Third, the Sovereigns of Spain, did for Cervantès. Each of them attained to an advanced age, amidst the pressure of diseases, penury, and privations. Camöens breathed his last at Lisbon, in 1579, at about sixty-two years of age, in an Hospital; reproaching his countrymen, as is asserted, for their cruel neglect. Cervantès, extenuated by the progress of a Dropsy, which was rendered more severe by want, preserved his constitutional gaiety of disposition, down to the last moments of his existence; expired at the age of sixty-nine, it may be almost said, with the pen in his hand; and seemed to triumph over dissolution, by the elasticity and energy of his mind. He died at Madrid, in 1616; a year memorable in the Annals of Genius, as it likewise deprived the world of Shakespear! The author of the "Lusiad," and the writer of "Don Quixote," were both thrown into the ground, without even the decencies of an ordinary Funeral; nor can the spot where either of their remains are deposited, be even ascertained at the present time. It is impossible to consider these facts, without emotions of mingled concern and indignation.

Yet, Danté, Tasso, and Galileo, among the Italians; Spenser, Otway, and Chatterton, among us, appear to have experienced scarcely a milder Fate.

If I could not discover the place of Camöens's Interment, I at least found out the Grave and Tombstone of the Author of "Tom Jones." Fielding, who terminated his life, as is well known, at Lisbon, in 1754, of a complication of disorders, at little more than forty-seven years of age, lies buried in the Cemetery appropriated to the English Factory. I visited his Grave, which was already nearly concealed by weeds and nettles. Though he did not suffer the extremity of distress, under which Camöens and Cervantes terminated their lives; yet his Extravagance, a quality so commonly characteristic of men distinguished by talents, embittered the evening of his days. Fielding, Richardson, and Le Sage, seem to have attained the highest eminence in that seductive species of writing, unknown to Antiquity, which we denominate *Novels*. Crebillon, Marivaux, and Smollett, only occupy the second place. Voltaire and Rousseau, however beautiful may be their Compositions in this Line, are

rather satirical or philosophical Moralists, than Writers of Novels. “Don Quixote” is a Work *sui Generis*, and not amenable to ordinary rules. “Gil Blas” seems to stand alone, and will probably be read with avidity in every Age, and every Country. Though the Scene lies in Spain, and the Characters are Spaniards, the manners are universal; and true to nature equally in Madrid, in Paris, or in London. Richardson and Fielding are more national, and cannot be read with the same delight on the Banks of the Seine, or of the Tyber, as on those of the Thames; though the former Writer transports us to Bologna, in his *Sir Charles Grandison*. Fielding never attempts to carry us out of England, and his Actors are all Aborigines. Foreigners neither can taste his works, nor will he ever attain to the Fame of Richardson, beyond the limits of his own Country. *Clementina* and *Clarissa* will penetrate, where *Sophia Western* and *Parson Adams*, never can be known or appreciated. *Joseph Andrews* and *Amelia* may be considered, in point of composition, to Fielding, what *Pamela* is to Richardson.

The late Alderman Cadell, who was one of the most intelligent, honourable, and superior

men of his profession ; told me that his predecessor, *Millar*, the Bookseller, bought Fielding's *Amelia* of the Author ; giving him for the Copy-right, eight hundred Pounds ; a great sum at that time. After making the purchase, *Millar* shewed the Manuscript to Sir Andrew Mitchell, who subsequently filled the post of British Minister at Berlin ; requesting to have his opinion of the work. Sir Andrew observed to him, that it bore the indelible marks of Fielding's Genius, and was a fine performance ; but, nevertheless, far beneath " *Tom Jones* ;" finally advising him to get rid of it as soon as he could. *Millar* did not neglect the counsel, though he was too able a man, to divulge the opinion delivered by his friend. On the contrary, at the first sale which he made to *the Trade*, he said, " Gentlemen, I have several works to put up, for which I shall be glad if you will bid : but, as to *Amelia*, every Copy is already bespoke." This Manœuvre had its effect. All the Booksellers were anxious to get their names put down for copies of it, and the Edition, though very large, was immediately sold.

All the most interesting particulars of the

Earthquake of 1755, have been recounted to me by many of those persons who shared in, and survived the horrors of that calamitous Day, on which near forty thousand persons were believed to have perished. They agreed, that if it had taken place in the middle of the night, when the fires were in general extinguished, and when the darkness would have prevented the greater part of the inhabitants from quitting their Houses before day-break; not a fourth part of the lives would have been lost, nor destruction have followed. Prodigious numbers were swept off from the Quays, by the sudden rise of the Tagus; and the Conflagration which succeeded the Earthquake, spread even greater devastation than did that convulsion of nature. The first shock, which came on about forty minutes after nine in the morning, seemed to be horizontal in its direction or movement: but the second shock was perpendicular or vertical; throwing up the pavement of the Streets, to the height of forty and fifty feet into the air. Near an hour intervened between the two Concussions. The King, Queen, and Royal Family, by good fortune, were not at the Palace in Lisbon, but, at Belem, which stands near two Miles lower down, on the same side

of the river. As the Apartments which they inhabited, were all built on the ground, His Majesty leaped out of the window of his Chamber, into the Garden, on first perceiving the shock; while the three Princesses, his Daughters, who were either not yet risen, or not dressed, followed him, wrapped in the bed-clothes.

Lisbon has, in all Ages, been subject to the awful visitation and ravages of Earthquakes. History commemorates several, during the lapse of the last six Centuries, which have successively laid that Capital in ruins, and buried or ingulphed a large part of the population. The most destructive Earthquake known in modern Times, previous to the year 1755, happened in February, 1522, soon after the decease of Emanuel, in the first year of the reign of his son, John the Third. The Concussions of the Earth then lasted during eight days; but do not appear to have produced a Conflagration as ruinous or extensive, as that which took place under Joseph; though more than fifteen hundred Houses, besides Churches, Palaces, and public Edifices, of every kind, were destroyed. Thirty thousand persons perished in Lisbon alone; while



Santarem, Almerin, and many other places, were swallowed up, together with their inhabitants. John the Third, his Queen, and the royal family, were compelled to encamp in the fields, under Tents, just as Joseph did in November, 1755. Great as these Convulsions of Nature were, they may nevertheless be esteemed slight, both in their extent and in their effects, if compared with those which desolated Calabria, in more recent periods, as late as the year 1783.

It is evident that the Earthquake of 1755 ran in a kind of vein, principally ravaging a circle or space of about four to five miles; which was reduced to a state of desolation, by the fire that followed it. The "Alfama," or ancient Moorish City, situate higher up the river, as well as the Suburb of Belem, extending lower down the Tagus; though both may be said to form a part of Lisbon, nearly as Wapping and Westminster constitute portions of London; yet received, comparatively, little injury. The principal Edifices, and even the Houses in both, remained, if not unshaken, yet undemolished. In 1772, rather more than half the space originally laid waste by the Earthquake and

fire, had been already rebuilt. Some of the new Streets might even vie in regularity and magnificence, with those of any Capital in Europe; forming an astonishing contrast with the filth, antiquity, and barbarism, characteristic of the Eastern extremity, or "Alfama."

The Family of Braganza has not produced, even down to the present time, any Sovereign endowed with Talents such as distinguished the two Kings, John the Second and Emanuel, who reigned over the Portugueze in the fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries. John the Fourth himself, Founder of the Braganza line, though he effected the recovery of their national independence, seemed to be in no degree qualified by Nature, for the performance of so perilous a task. Gustavus Vasa, who expelled the Tyrant Christian the Second, from Sweden; Henry the Fourth, who crushed "the League" in France; William the First, and William the Third, Princes of Orange, who successively liberated the Dutch; the former, from the yoke of Spain, and the latter, from the arms of Louis the XIVth;—all these were superior Men, endowed with Energies such as Providence confers on Heroes. But, the Duke of Braganza was an

ordinary individual, whose abilities were of the most moderate description: even his personal courage was never proved in the Field. It was the heroic spirit of his Consort, which supplying these defects, impelled him to seize the Crown, which the weakness and incapacity of the Spanish Government under Philip the Fourth, might be said to tender him. She was, herself, by birth a Spaniard, daughter of the Duke of Medina Sidonia: her name, Louisa de Guzman. After the decease of the King her husband in 1656, she continued to act as Regent. John the Fourth left two sons, the eldest of whom, Alphonso the Sixth, was only thirteen years of age. Labouring from his infancy under incurable maladies, or debilities of body and of mind, he appears to have been altogether unfit to exercise the duties or functions of Sovereign Power. While his Mother held the reins of State, Alphonso's incapacity, and acts of violence or of imbecility, were prevented from exciting any national commotions of a serious nature: but, after the retreat and decease of that illustrious Princess in 1666, his deposition speedily followed. It was merited by his excesses, and utter inaptitude for Government. His own wife, a Princess of the

House of Nemours, descended from the Dukes of Savoy, to whom he had been recently married, but, with whom he had never been able to consummate his nuptials; combining with Don Pedro, his younger Brother, a Prince of prudence, energy, and ability; arrested and deposed Alphonso. In performing this Revolutionary act, they were only the agents and instruments of the Nation, who unanimously demanded, sanctioned, and maintained it.

Don Pedro, thus called to the supreme Authority by the voice of the Portuguese, at twenty years of age, in 1668, did not however assume the title of King. Like the present Prince Regent of the same Country, he contented himself with that Denomination; but he married Mary of Nemours, his Brother's wife, as Henry the Eighth of England had espoused Catherine of Arragon. Till the death of Alphonso, which took place seventeen years later, in 1683, Pedro only exercised the Regency. Alphonso was first sent to the Azores, or Western Islands, situate in the midst of the Atlantic Ocean; where he resided for some years, at Terceira, in an honorable restraint: but it was

afterwards judged expedient to conduct him back to Portugal, and to confine him in one of the royal Palaces, at Cintra; a village not remote from Lisbon, situate towards the mouth of the Tagus, in a Country abounding with natural beauties of every kind, which render it one of the most delicious and enchanting spots in Europe. At a more recent period, Cintra has attained historical Celebrity, from the Convention there concluded, or rather at Torres Vedras, with the French, in 1808. In the Palace at the former place, I visited the Apartment in which Alphonso was imprisoned, and where he ended his days. Though become somewhat ruinous in 1772, it was tolerably spacious, being about twenty feet square, and proportionably lofty. He passed eleven years as a captive, in that chamber. Towards the latter part of his life, his understanding, naturally very weak, became wholly alienated. He grew furious to such a degree, that it was found necessary to confine him by an iron rail, which surrounded his Bed, and allowed him only a space of about fourteen to sixteen feet, for exercise. The Bricks, of which the floor was composed, were worn away in this track, by the constant action of his feet.

His death, however, as far as we can assert; or are warranted to conjecture, was not accelerated by any act of Treachery or Violence. It is an extraordinary circumstance, that Alphonso terminated his unfortunate life on the 12th of December, 1683; and that his former wife, Mary of Nemours, who was married to his younger Brother Don Pedro, died on the 17th of the same month and year, leaving no issue by that Prince.

Pedro the Second, who continued to reign down to the commencement of the last Century, in 1706; was unquestionably the most able of the Sovereigns that have governed Portugal, from 1640 down to the present time. John the Fifth, his son and successor, seems to have been a man of moderate intellectual endowments: fond of show, but destitute of taste; and during the latter Years of his Life, when the Powers of his Mind had been enfeebled in Consequence of an Apoplectic Stroke,—enslaved by Bigotry. He expended forty-five Millions of Crusadoes, or nearly four Millions Sterling, in the erection of a Palace at Maffra, about five leagues north of Cintra, and not far removed from the Shore of the Atlantic. It formed a

monument of royal prodigality, blended with Superstition. Who can believe, that in the last Century, any Prince would construct a residence, in imitation or emulation of the *Escorial* of Philip the Second of Spain? John did not, indeed, like Philip, build the Palace of Maffra, in the form of a Gridiron; but he united in one Edifice, precisely as that King had done, a Palace, a Church, and a Convent. The Church occupied the centre of the Building; contiguous to it being placed the Cloisters; together with the Cells, or apartments of the Monks. Three hundred Franciscan Friars, a Monastic Order distinguished for the disgusting filth of their dress and appearance, were there stationed. They had even a Hospital in the central part of the Edifice, for the diseased and infirm members of the Fraternity. One of the first acts of Joseph's reign, was to dislodge these religious nuisances; and when I visited Maffra, they had been replaced by secular priests, diminished in number. The Palace, dismantled, forsaken, and forming altogether an appendage to the Convent, extended in two wings on either side, and behind the Church; but, without Gardens or pleasure grounds of any kind. Such was

Maffra, the Versailles of Portugal; erected, like that Palace, in a situation little favoured by nature! John the Fifth expended more beneficially the treasures of the State, in constructing the Aqueduct of Alcantra, scarcely a mile out of Lisbon, which supplies the Capital in a great Degree, with water. In solidity and grandeur, it is a work-worthy of ancient Rome; crossing a deep valley or Ravine, from one mountain to another, on Arches; the central Arch of which Range is three hundred feet in height, and ninety in breadth. The Earthquake of 1755, spared this monument of national utility, which received little injury from the shock; and the construction of which reconciled me in some measure, to the Sovereign by whom it was raised.

The reign of Joseph may be more properly denominated the Administration of the Condé de Oeyras, created afterwards Marquis de Pombal, than it can be characterized by any other description. The name of this Minister was Sebastian Joseph Carvalho. His Birth, noble, but not illustrious, would never have opened him a way to power, tho' aided by extraordinary talents, if Court Favour



had not sustained and propelled them. Maria Anna of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Leopold the First, and Queen of John the Fifth, recommended him to her son Joseph ; who, on his accession to the Throne in 1750, named Carvalho, Secretary for Foreign Affairs. His own abilities atchieved the rest. On him, Joseph seemed to have devolved the exclusive and absolute Government of the State ; nor was he unworthy of that selection. At the time that I saw him, he had attained his seventy-third year ; but age appeared neither to have diminished the vigor, freshness, nor activity of his faculties. In his person he was very tall and slender ; his face long, pale, meagre, and full of intelligence. He was so unpopular, and so many attempts had been made to assassinate him, that he never went out without Guards. Even in the Streets of Lisbon, his Carriage was always accompanied or surrounded by a detachment of Cavalry, with their swords drawn for his protection. He was, indeed, not less odious to the Nobility and Clergy, than to the People ; perhaps, even more so ; one of the great objects of his policy, during more than twenty years, having been to reduce the Aristocratic and Ecclesiastical Pri-

vileges of every kind, to a strict dependance on the Crown and Government.

In 1772, the State Prisons were crouded with unfortunate victims. The Tower of Belem, the Fort of the Bougie, situate at the mouth of the Tagus, and the Castle of St. Julien, placed at the northern entrance of that river, were all full of prisoners; among whom, a great proportion had been Jesuits, arrested either in 1758, or in 1763, by Orders of the first Minister. The subterranean Casemates of the Castle of St. Julien contained above a hundred individuals, who could be clearly discerned by persons walking on the Ramparts of the Fortress, through the iron gratings which admitted some light to those gloomy abodes. I have, myself, beheld many of them, at the depth of fifty or sixty feet below me, pacing to and fro; most of whom, being Jesuits, were habited in the Dress of the Order. They excited great Commiseration. The famous Gabriel Malagrida, an Italian Jesuit, who was accused of having, as Confessor to the Marchioness of Tavora, known and encouraged her to make the attempt upon Joseph's life; after being long imprisoned in that Fortress, was

strangled, and his Body subsequently reduced to Ashes at the stake, in 1761. He appears to have been rather a Visionary, and an imbecile Fanatic, than a man of dangerous parts. His public Execution, when near seventy-five years of age, must be considered as a cruel and odious act, which reflects disgrace on Joseph, and on his Minister. Malagrida's name is become proverbial among us, to express duplicity; and has been applied, perhaps unjustly, to one of our greatest modern Statesmen, by his political Opponents. Many other persons of all ranks, either known, or believed to have been, implicated in the Duke d'Aveiro's Conspiracy, remained in 1772 shut up in the various State Prisons of Portugal. Most, or all of these unhappy sufferers who survived, have, I believe, been since liberated in 1777, on the Accession of the present Queen.

In extenuation, if not in justification of the first Minister, and of Joseph, it must however be admitted that the national character of the Portugueze, at once bigotted, sanguinary, and vindictive, demanded a severe Government. They were neither to be

reformed, enlightened, nor coerced, by gentle and palliative remedies. At the decease of John the Fifth, the Streets of Lisbon, even in the most frequented Quarters, exhibited perpetual scenes of violence, and of murder, during the night. Dead bodies, stabbed, and covered with wounds, were left exposed in the Squares and public places. But, before 1772, the Police, introduced and rigorously enforced by the Marquis de Pombal, had almost extinguished these enormities; and had rendered the Capital nearly as secure as London. During my residence there, of many weeks, such was the vigilance of the Patrole, that only one Assassination was committed; and I have returned home, alone, on foot, at the latest hours, without danger or apprehension. Nor were the cares of the First Minister, limited to the mere protection of the Metropolis. Its re-edification, salubrity, and improvement in every sense, occupied his capacious mind. Lisbon might truly be said to rise from its ashes, as ancient Rome did under Augustus, renewed and beautified. The education of the young Nobility formed likewise, a distinguished object of his regard. A College, founded solely for their benefit, at an immense expense, was already

nearly completed. I visited it, as I did the manufactures of silk, of lace, of ivory, and many others, carrying on under his Auspices. All these bespoke a great and elevated understanding, intent on ameliorating the order of things, and animated by very salutary or enlarged views. But, the greater number of the Marquis de Pombal's institutions, edifices, and fabricks, being incomplete, demanded time or funds for their entire accomplishment. The detestation in which he was held, impeded their progress: nor was it doubted, that as soon as the present Queen, then Princess of Brazil, should succeed to the throne; her Superstition, or her Prejudices, would overturn all that Joseph and his Minister had done, to introduce improvements or reforms into Portugal. The event justified this prediction.

Joseph's reign, which had been marked by Earthquakes, Conspiracies, and War, was regarded by the Portuguese Nation, not without some apparent reason, as a most calamitous period. Yet if we compare the misfortunes of that time, with those which have succeeded, when the Sovereign, the Royal Family, and the principal Nobility,

have been compelled to abandon their native Country, in order to seek an Asylum in South America; while the Capital and the Provinces have been occupied, over-run, and plundered, by a revolutionary Enemy of the most rapacious description;—how comparatively tolerable were the evils endured under Joseph, when placed near those to which Portugal has been subjected under his Daughter! They may be said to have equalled, if they did not exceed, between 1807 and 1810, the degradation and subversion which followed the death of Sebastian, in the sixteenth Century, when Philip the Second rendered himself master of the kingdom. Having mentioned Sebastian, I shall say a few words on the History of that unfortunate Prince. It is well known that he perished or disappeared, in the famous Battle of Arzila, on the Coast of Barbary, fought on the 4th of August, 1578. I have seen, in the royal Palace at Cintra, a little open Court or Balcony, adjoining one of the rooms of State, in which was constructed a stone Chai or seat, coated with a sort of coarse Porcelain; a Bench of the same materials extending on each side. In that Chair, while his Ministers sat round him, Sebastian, as

constant Tradition asserts, held the memorable Council, in which the Enterprize against Morocco was resolved on, contrary to the advice and opinions of his more prudent Counsellors. That he was no more seen after the day of the Battle of Arzila, by the Portugueze, is certain; but it is not absolutely ascertained beyond all doubt, that he perished there. His Body was never found, or at least, was never identified; and I have conversed with very judicious men at Lisbon, who inclined to believe that the individual who appeared at Venice in 1598, asserting himself to be Sebastian, was really that Prince.

Joseph had one Sister, named Barbara, who was married, at seventeen years of age, to Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, youngest of the sons of Philip the Fifth, King of Spain, by his first Queen, and who afterwards succeeded him in the Spanish Throne. This Princess, who seems to have been entirely under the dominion of Superstition and of Music; before she quitted Lisbon, in order to become the wife of Ferdinand, in 1729, having repaired to the Church of the "Madre de Dios," or Mother of God, situate on the

banks of the Tagus, in the Suburbs; there made a solemn offering to the Virgin, of the rich Dress, laces, and valuable jewels, which she had worn at the ceremony of her Espousals. I was induced to visit the Church, for the purpose of viewing this magnificent sacrifice or renunciation of female ornament. The image was habited from head to foot, in the finest lace; the Stomacher, Necklace, and Ear-rings, being altogether composed of Briliants. Lady Wortley Montagu remarks, in one of her Letters, written from some part of Germany; I believe, from Cologne; that in her time, as early as 1717, or 1718, the knavery of the Priests had already removed, in most, or in many of the Catholic Churches, the precious stones which Devotees had presented to the Saints; substituting paste, or other imitations in their place. This assertion may have been well founded, relative to Germany; but was not true in Portugal, at a much later period. I viewed these Diamonds, by permission of the priests, very closely, through the medium of a glass case, in which the Virgin herself was inclosed; and I have not the slightest doubt that they were the identical jewels, presented by the Princess on the above-mentioned occasion.



At the feet of his Mother, secured within the same case, lay a waxen figure of the Infant Jesus, wrapt in similar attire, and reposing in a Cradle of solid silver. How long these costly articles of Dress may have remained unremoved in the Church of the "Madrè de Dios," since I saw them, I cannot pretend to say: but we may presume that the Prince Regent, when he embarked for Rio Janeiro, did not leave them behind, for the Duchess of Abrantès, or the revolutionary rapacity of the French Generals; who would no more have spared them, than the Elder Dionysius respected the golden Beard of Esculapius, or the Mantle of Jupiter.

The Princess Barbara, who became Queen of Spain in 1746, constituted the supreme felicity of Ferdinand the Sixth, her husband; with whom she lived twenty-nine years, in a state of such conjugal union as is rarely to be found in human life, and still more rarely on the Throne. They nevertheless remained without issue. Like his Queen, Ferdinand nourished a decided passion, or rather rage, for Music; and it is well known that the celebrated Farinelli enjoyed under his reign, as he had previously done under that

of Philip the Fifth, an almost unbounded Ascendant over both the King and Queen. Such was Farinelli's prodigious influence, that he may be said to have shared the political power of the state with Ensenada, the first Minister of Ferdinand; a Prince who, though he reigned in our own Times, is hardly known or remembered beyond the limits of Spain. His talents were very confined, but his intentions were upright. Notwithstanding the obligations of the "Family Compact," he refused, on the Commencement of the War between Great-Britain and France in 1756, to join the latter power; or to sacrifice, as his Successor Charles the Third did in 1761, the interests of his People, to the ties of Consanguinity existing between him and Louis the Fifteenth. Till his Decease, which took place in 1759, Ferdinand maintained a strict Neutrality. His Death was unquestionably produced by grief for the loss of his Queen, who had been carried off in the preceding year. From that time, Ferdinand became a prey to the most inveterate Melancholy, which not only enfeebled, but, in some measure alienated his mind. Abandoning himself to despair, he declined all society; refused to change his linen, or to take any remedies,

during some weeks before he expired ; and ultimately died the victim of conjugal Affection. In consequence of this event, his half-Brother, Charles, son of Philip the Fifth by his second wife, the *Parmesana* as she was denominated ; who then reigned at Naples, ascended the Throne of Spain.

I passed a great part of the years 1775 and 1776, in France, not long after the decease of Louis the Fifteenth ; a Sovereign whose character and actions always appeared to me to be depreciated and undervalued by the French, nearly in the same proportion that they have elevated those of Louis the Fourteenth above their just Standard. Like his Predecessor, he succeeded to the Crown, while in childhood ; but, he had not the same advantages as Louis the Fourteenth enjoyed, whose Mother, Anne of Austria, watched with maternal solicitude over his preservation. Louis the Fifteenth, who at five Years of Age, survived both his parents, was left, during the Regency of Philip, Duke of Orleans, principally to the care of Fleury, Bishop of Frejus, who obtained over his pupil, an early, and almost an unbounded ascendant. The Regency lasted above eight years ; and during

no period of time since the Abdication of James the Second in 1689, have France and England been so closely united by political ties. George the First and the Regent Duke, both, dreaded a Pretender: one, in the son of James; the other, in Philip the Fifth, King of Spain. Impelled by this apprehension, the two Princes equally made the policy and interests of their respective Countries, subordinate to their personal objects of Acquisition or Ambition. Philip, Duke of Orleans, was undoubtedly one of the most immoral and profligate men whom we have beheld in modern Ages. The Orgies of the "Palais Royal," probably exceeded in depravity, as well as in enormity, every thing of the same kind ever acted, even in France. The incestuous Fables of Antiquity, and the unnatural Amours of Cinyras and Myrrha, which we read with Horror in Ovid; the revolting Stories related of Alexander the Sixth and his Daughter Lucretia Borgia;—were believed to have been realized in the Persons of the Duchess de Berri, and the Abbess de Chelles, with their own Father. But, notwithstanding the Disgust excited by such Scenes of infamous Turpitude, we must acknowledge that the Regent likewise dis-

played some of the greatest endowments and talents, fitted both for the Cabinet and for the Field. His Descendant, who performed so detestable a part in the late French Revolution, only resembled him in his vices. He inherited neither the distinguished personal courage, nor the ardor for knowledge, nor the military skill, nor the aptitude for public Business, nor the elevated mind of the Regent; who, if he had not been restrained by some considerations of goodness, or some emotions of affection, might easily have acted by Louis the Fifteenth, as we suppose that Richard, Duke of Gloucester, did by Edward the Fifth; or, as we know that the late Duke of Orleans acted by Louis the Sixteenth, and his Queen. To the Regent, whose life was terminated before the End of the Year 1723, in the arms of the Duchess de Valori, abbreviated by his excesses, succeeded the short and feeble Ministry of the Duke of Bourbon, comprizing scarcely three years; but, which Period of Time produced one event peculiarly interesting to the young King, and to France; I mean, his Marriage.

There is no instance in the last, or present

Century, of any female attaining so great an elevation, as that of Mademoiselle de Leczinska to the Throne of France: for, we cannot justly reckon the second marriage of the Czar Peter, with Catherine, the Livonian Peasant, as an exception. Muscovy could scarcely then be considered as forming a portion of the European System, nor were its Sovereigns altogether subjected to our usages. That the Daughter of an expatriated Polish Nobleman or Palatine, whom Charles the Twelfth of Sweden had nominally forced upon the Poles, as their King, during a few years; but, who was in fact only a needy, exiled Adventurer, driven by necessity to take shelter in an obscure provincial town of Alsace, and destitute of Territories, or almost of support;—that a Princess, if such she might indeed be properly denominated, who could hardly be thought a suitable match for one of the petty Sovereigns on the Banks of the Elbe, or the Rhine, should have been selected for the Consort of a King of France;—may assuredly be considered as one of the most singular Caprices of Fortune. Its singularity becomes augmented, when we reflect that the young Monarch was already not only betrothed to the daughter of Philip

the Fifth, his Uncle, King of Spain; but, that the Princess destined to share his Throne and Bed, had long resided in France, the nuptials being only delayed till the two parties should attain a proper age. Yet, in defiance of this impediment, did the Duke of Bourbon venture to send back Philip's Daughter to Madrid; and I met her at Lisbon, near half a Century afterwards, become Queen of Portugal; transported from the Banks of the Seine, to those of the Tagus: while a native of Poland, brought up in obscurity, and hardly accounted among the female Candidates for an European Crown, supplied her place. The motive assigned for so extraordinary a proceeding on the part of the Duke of Bourbon, was his apprehension that the young King, whose delicate Constitution seemed scarcely to promise his attaining to manhood, should die without issue.

I have been assured by persons conversant in the secret History of the early part of Louis the Fifteenth's reign, that when the Duke of Bourbon determined on dissolving the unconsummated Marriage between the young King and Philip's Daughter, he found himself under the greatest embarrassment,

whom to substitute in her room. He had a Sister, Mademoiselle de Sens, born in 1705, whose age and personal accomplishments rendered her a fit Bride for Louis. She then resided at the Abbey of Fontevraud in Anjou, under the protection of the Abbess; and it was natural for the Duke to desire to raise her to the Throne. But, he was himself enslaved to the celebrated Marchioness de Prie, his Mistress, who wished to have the merit of naming the future Queen; in whose Household, and about whose person, she aspired to occupy a distinguished situation. On the other hand, they both equally dreaded giving a wife to their Sovereign, whose Charms, Talents, or Ambition, might impel her to assume an empire over his mind. Louis, then only entering on his sixteenth year, brought up in great seclusion, scarcely initiated in public Business; and though not destitute of talents, yet indolent, of very reserved habits, modest, and diffident of himself; would, not improbably, like his uncle Philip the Fifth, be governed by a Queen of energy or spirit. Before the choice fell therefore on the Duke of Bourbon's sister, it behoved the Marchioness to ascertain whether, if selected for so great an elevation, she would probably manifest



ductility of character, gratitude, and attachment towards the person who principally raised her to that eminence. In order to obtain satisfaction on a point so important, Madame de Prie determined to procure an interview with Mademoiselle de Sens, to whom she was unknown by person, though not by reputation. Assuming therefore a fictitious name, she repaired to Fontevraud, and having been presented to her, found means to turn the conversation on the Marchioness de Prie. Unconscious that the stranger to whom she addressed her discourse, was the Marchioness herself, the Princess gave full scope to her antipathy towards a woman, whom she considered as exercising a pernicious influence over her brother's mind. This disclosure of her sentiments, at once stopped the further prosecution of Madame de Prie's plan for placing her on the French Throne, and compelled her to turn her views to another quarter.

The Duke of Bourbon, not discouraged by the obstacle which difference of religion imposed, next embraced the extraordinary measure of demanding for his master, the hand of an English Princess; and he named as the

object of his selection, the eldest Granddaughter of George the First, Anne, who afterwards married William the Fourth, Prince of Orange. This event took place in 1725. However strong might be the objection arising from her profession of the Protestant faith, which she must necessarily have renounced, in order to ascend the Throne of France, yet the offer was alluring; and Henrietta, sister of Charles the Second, had married Philip, Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis the Fourteenth, after Charles's Restoration. But, George the First, though gratified by the proposition of seeing one of his female descendants wear the French Crown, yet was too wise to accept it; well knowing that such an Alliance, however splendid in itself, or whatever political advantages it might seem to present, would irritate and disgust all the adherents of the Succession in the House of Hanover. Thus foiled in two attempts to dispose of Louis the Fifteenth's hand, and firmly resolved on effecting his marriage without Delay, Madame de Prie cast her eyes on Maria Leczinska, the daughter of Stanislaus. She was then living with her father, at Weissembourg in Alsace; a town situate not far from the Rhine, on the frontier of Germany,

though in the dominions of France; where the titular King of Poland resided in as much obscurity, as Charles the Second lived in the preceding Century at Cologne, during the Protectorate of Cromwell. So little expectation did he entertain of matching his Daughter with a crowned head, that he had already lent a favourable ear to the proposals of a private Nobleman, a subject of France, the Count d'Estrees, who offered her Marriage. Stanislaus accepted the Offer, but desired to delay its accomplishment, till he could procure, if possible, the honors of a Duchess, at the Court of Versailles, for Mademoiselle de Leczinska.

With that view, he actually made applications to obtain a Brevet of Duke for the Count d'Estrees, his destined son-in-law, though without success; Fortune reserving for her the first Diadem in Europe. Her principal recommendation consisted in her want of personal attractions, the humility of her condition, and the obligation to Gratitude which she must naturally feel for the authors of so wonderful a change in her Fortune. In fact, Nature had neither bestowed on her Beauty, Elegance of manners, nor intellectual

endowments of any kind. Even youth she could scarcely be said comparatively to possess, as she was already twenty-three years of age, while her destined husband was only sixteen. We know not which to admire most, the singularity of such a choice, or the passive Apathy displayed by Louis, while his Minister and Madame de Prie thus disposed of his person. Maria Leczinska brought him nothing, as a portion, on the day of her nuptials, except modesty, virtue, and goodness of heart. Yet the young King, during eleven or twelve years after his marriage, exhibited a pattern of conjugal fidelity, which stands strongly contrasted with Louis the Fourteenth's dissolute amours; at the same period of life; though Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip the Fourth, could boast of much superior personal Charms to the Polish Princess. The Duchess de la Valiere, Madame de Montespan, and Madame de Fontanges, disputed for the possession of Louis the Fourteenth's youth. It was not 'till Louis the Fifteenth had passed his thirtieth year, that after becoming successively enamoured of the Duchess de Chateau-roux and her two Sisters, he sunk first into the arms of the Marchioness de Pompadour,

and in his old Age resigned himself to the disgraceful Chains of the Countess du Barry.

The Duke de Bourbon's and Madame de Prie's period of power, proved nevertheless of short duration. He was banished in 1726, to Chantilly, and at that point of time commences Cardinal Fleury's Administration. It lasted nearly as long as Richlieu's Ministry had done; namely, about seventeen years; and though Fleury was far inferior in strength of character, resources, and energy, to his great predecessor, yet may France justly feel for him equal gratitude. Pacific, economical, unostentatious, and mild, he seemed made to heal the wounds inflicted on their Country, by the Ambition of Louis the Fourteenth, and the Excesses of the Regent. If Richlieu, as we are assured from contemporary authority, ventured to raise his eyes to Anne of Austria, and to make her propositions of a libertine nature; it is equally a fact, however incredible it may appear, that Fleury, then above seventy years of age, carried his presumption still farther with respect to Maria Leczinska. That Princess, conscious nevertheless of the ascendant which the Cardinal had obtained over her

Husband, possessed too much prudence to communicate to him, in the first instance, the subject of her complaint. She wisely preferred making a Confidant of her father, To Stanislaus she therefore revealed the temerity of the aged Minister, and besought him to give her his advice for her conduct, particularly on the Propriety of her acquainting Louis with the circumstance. Stanislaus exhorted her, in reply, to bury the secret in her own bosom; observing at the same time, that Sovereign Princesses are placed on such an eminence, as almost to render it impossible for any disrespectful propositions to be made them, unless they encourage to a certain degree, such advances. The Queen was discreet enough to adopt this judicious and paternal counsel. If I had not received the Anecdote here related, from a person, whose intimacy with the individuals composing the Court of France at that time, joined to his rank and high character, left no doubt of its authenticity, I should not venture to recount the fact.

To Louis the Fifteenth, France stands indebted for the acquisition of Lorrain, a Territory of inestimable value; perhaps surpas-

sing in real importance, any augmentation of the French Dominions made by arms, within the three last Centuries. Henry the Second had conquered Metz, Toul, and Verdun, from the German Empire; besides re-annexing Calais, so long held by the English Princes. The Counties of Bugey and Bresse, covering the Borders on the side of Savoy, were gained by Henry the Fourth. His son, Louis the Thirteenth, or more properly to speak, the Cardinal de Richlieu, added Roussillon and Cerdagne, situate at one extremity of the Kingdom, towards Catalonia; while in another Quarter, he reduced Artois and Alsace to the French Obedience. Lastly, Louis the Fourteenth, in the course of his long, ambitious, and sanguinary Career, exceeding in duration seventy years, not only enlarged or strengthened his frontier along the Rhine; but augmented his Territories by the addition of Franche Comté, and of a vast persion of Flanders. Yet may we justly doubt, whether any of these acquisitions conferred such strength and security, as the possession of Lorrain. When we reflect on the beauty and extent of that fine Province, stretching into the midst of France; contiguous on the East to Germany, while on the

West, its limits approached Paris itself;— we must own that the French seem ungrateful to the memory of a Prince, who by his Arms and Negotiations succeeded in retaining such a tract of Country. It affixed the seal to every preceding effort made by their Kings or Ministers, for the security, greatness, and protection of France; leaving unaccomplished no object of wise Ambition. Nor can we too severely censure the inert, or parsimonious and narrow policy of Walpole, in permitting Cardinal Fleury to illustrate his Administration by such an act. France did not indeed, instantly take possession in her own name, of the Duchies of Lorrain and Bar. Fortune, after raising Maria Leczinska to the Throne of France, conferred on her father, in recompence for his ideal Polish Crown, those fertile Provinces; the enjoyment and revenues of which, were secured to him for his life. Such a substitution was in fact exchanging the armour of Diomed, for that of Glaucus; a barren Sceptre, for one of Gold.

Stanislaus, when this event took place in 1736, was already nearly sixty, and he remained during thirty years, Duke of Lorrain. His



Administration, mild, beneficent, and liberal, rendered him beloved by his new subjects. He embellished Nancy, the Capital; but he held his Court and residence principally at Luneville, where he expired in consequence of a singular accident, having been burnt to death. Charles, King of Navarre, surnamed the Bad, perished nearly in the same manner, about four Centuries earlier, at Pampeluna. The late Lady Mary Churchill, Sir Robert Walpole's daughter, who then resided with her husband at Luneville, has more than once recounted to me all the particulars of Stanislaus's end. Mr. Churchill and Lady Mary, who lived in habits of intimacy with him, dined at his Villa of Bon Secours, a short distance from Luneville, on the day preceding the Catastrophe which terminated his life. She assured me, that though extremely bent with age and infirmities, being then near eighty-nine years old, he retained both his faculties and his good humour. Naturally gallant, he had a nominal Mistress, the Marchioness de Boufflers, who occupied a part of the Palace of Luneville, and to whom he was much attached; though he manifested neither jealousy nor dissatisfaction at her preference of a younger Rival. His own

Chancellor had contrived to insinuate himself into Madame de Boufflers' favour; a fact of which the King was not ignorant. Taking leave of her, one evening, when retiring to his Apartment, after embracing her, "*Mon Chancelier*," added he, "*vous dira le reste*;"—a jocose allusion to the words with which, as is well known, the French Sovereigns, when holding a *Bed of Justice*, always finish their Harangues. Stanislaus, during the last years of his life, withdrew to rest every night, at nine o'clock, and his departure constituted the signal for commencing Faro. All the persons of both sexes, composing his Court and Household, then sat down to that infatuating Game, which was continued without intermission, to a late hour. But, a circumstance seemingly incredible is, that the rage for it became such, as to attract by degrees to the Table, all the Domestics of the Palace, down to the very Turnspits or Scullions; who crowding round, staked their *Ecus* on the Cards, over the heads of the company. Such a fact sufficiently proves the relaxation of manners which prevailed in the Court of Lorrain, under Stanislaus.

His Death, as Lady Mary Churchill related

it to me, took place in February, 1766, in the following manner. The old King, who, like the Poles and Germans, was much addicted to smoking Tobacco, usually finished several pipes, every day. Being alone, in an undress, while endeavouring to knock out the ashes from his pipe, he set fire to his Gown; and his *Valet de Chambre*, who alone exercised the privilege of entering his Apartment, had unfortunately just gone into the Town of Luneville. His cries were not immediately heard; but when they reached the Officer stationed on guard in the outward room, he flew to the King's assistance; and having contrived to throw him down on the floor, the flames were speedily extinguished. He might even have survived and recovered the accident, if it had not been accompanied with a singular circumstance. Stanislaus, who during the last years of his life,

—cum Numina nobis  
Mors instant, majora facit,—

had become devout; as a Penance for his Transgressions, constantly wore under his Shirt, next to his flesh, a "*Reliquaire*," or Girdle, made of Silver, having points on the inside, from space to space. These points

becoming heated, and being pressed into his Body, while in the act of extinguishing the fire, caused a number of wounds or sores; the discharge from which, at his advanced Age, proved too severe for his enfeebled Constitution. Conscious that his end approached, and only a short time before it took place, he expressed a warm desire to see Mr. Churchill and Lady Mary. They having immediately waited on him, the King received them with great complacency, and with perfect self-possession; took leave of them most cheerfully; remarked the singularity of his fortune throughout life; and added, alluding to the strange manner of his Death, "*Il ne manquoit qu'une pareille Mort, pour un Aventurier comme moi.*" He soon afterwards expired; retaining his senses and understanding almost to the last moments of his existence.

If Louis the Fifteenth, by the Peace of 1736, acquired Lorrain for France, he covered himself and his Country with military Glory, during the War that commenced in 1741, on the Death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth. Fleury was no more; he and Walpole having finished their political Careers, nearly about the same time. History

can present, in no period of the World, an instance of a first Minister commencing his Administration, like Fleury, at seventy-three years of age, and retaining his power till he was ninety. Such a fact must, indeed, be considered as an exception to the general laws of nature, moral as well as physical. Cardinal Ximenes in Spain, who approached the nearest to him, died at eighty-one; and I believe, the Count de Maurepas, under Louis the Sixteenth, almost attained to a similar Age. In 1744, the year after Fleury's decease, Louis was seized, at Metz, with a fever, which nearly proved fatal. If he had expired at that time, as was expected to happen every Moment, during several successive Days, his memory would have been embalmed in the hearts of his subjects, and of mankind. Never were more ardent, or more universal Vows offered up to Heaven by the Roman People, for the recovery of Germanicus, or for the Preservation of Titus, than were made by the French Nation, for his restoration! They were unfortunately heard, and we are forced to exclaim with Juvenal,

“ *Provida Pompeio dederat Campania Febres  
Optandas : sed multæ Urbes, et publica Vota  
Vicerunt.*”——

Though Louis, like Pompey, survived these testimonies of popular favour, yet, during the whole course of that War, down to its termination in 1748, he continued to deserve, and to retain, the affections of the Nation. Four brilliant and triumphant Campaigns, in one of which he was personally present, rendered him Master of all the Austrian Netherlands. The military Trophies of Marlborough, erected forty years earlier on the same plains, were lost at Fontenoy, at Raucoux, and at Lafeldt. Greater by his Moderation, than even by his Conquests, Louis gave Peace to Europe at Aix-la-Chapelle, when Holland lay open to his attack; and when Mr. Pelham, who was then at the head of the Councils of England, possessed neither pecuniary nor military resources for maintaining the Contest. Louis the Fourteenth may undoubtedly have inspired more terror at certain periods of his reign; but never excited more respect, than did his Successor at the Conclusion of the great War, which took place on the accession of Maria Theresa.

It forms a curious subject of reflection, that the Armies of France, during this splendid portion of Louis the Fifteenth's reign,

when he thus over-ran the Low Countries, were commanded by Foreigners. To Condé, Turenne, and Luxembourg, had succeeded Catinat, Vendôme, Boufflers, and Villars: but these last Generals left no successors. In 1734, Villars, at near four-score, remained the sole survivor of those illustrious Commanders, who, from Rocroi down to Denain, from 1643 to 1712, had carried victory over so many Countries of Europe. An Englishman, the Duke of Berwick, natural Son of James the Second by Arabella Churchill, Sister of the great Duke of Marlborough, was placed at the head of the French forces on the Rhine, in 1734: while a German and a Dane subjected Flanders to Louis the Fifteenth, between 1743 and 1748. Marshal Saxe, the former of these Generals, attained a military reputation hardly exceeded by any individual in modern Times. Lowendahl, the other, was immortalized by the Capture of Bergen-op-Zoom, then regarded as the most impregnable fortress on the Continent. Both survived the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, only a few years. I have been in the Apartment of the Palace of Chambord, near Blois, where Marshal Saxe expired in November, 1750; extenuated by pleasures which had

enervated his Herculean Frame, and produced his premature end, at fifty-four years of age. The natural son of Augustus the Second, King of Poland, and Elector of Saxony, by the beautiful Countess of Konigsmark, he inherited from his father, an extraordinary degree of bodily Strength; but, like Milo in Antiquity,

“ Viribus ille

Confusus perit, admirandisque Lacertis.”

At Chambord, where he maintained a magnificent Establishment during the two last Years of his Life, he constantly entertained a company of Comedians, as a Sovereign Prince. Mademoiselle Chantilly, an Actress and a Dancer in high reputation at Paris, having, from her personal Beauty, no less than from her theatrical Merit, attracted the Marshal's attention; had, some years earlier, accompanied him on his Campaigns in the Netherlands, as his Mistress. While he was engaged in the Siege of Maestricht, Favart, a man who had found means to render himself Master of her Affections, carried her off to Paris. After the Termination of the War, Marshal Saxe caused proposals to be made her, for repairing to Chambord,



to perform on his Theatre. But she, who was married to Favart, knowing the Marshal's designs, rejected all his offers. In this Dilemma, determined again to gain possession of her, he applied to Monsieur de Berruyer, then *Lieutenant de Police*, requesting him to compel her to visit Chambord. Berruyer, desirous of obliging Marshal Saxe, made use of every Argument, and enforced them by very ample pecuniary offers. Finding, however, all his exertions fruitless, he sent her a *Lettre de Cachet*, ordering her immediately to Prison, or to Chambord. We must own that this atrocious abuse of power, which reminds us of Appius Claudius and Virginia, in the Consular Ages of Rome; excites indignation against a Minister capable of thus prostituting his official Functions, in order to gratify the depraved and licentious Appetites of an exhausted Voluptuary. Thus pressed between imprisonment and the sacrifice of her person, she preferred the latter expedient; as many other Women might have done under her Circumstances, without perhaps incurring either any deep degree of Culpability, or exciting any strong emotions of moral Reprobation. Pity, indeed, rather than Condemnation, arises in

the mind of every liberal Man, on such a recital. It is difficult to relate the sequel of the story, without involuntarily wounding Decorum: yet may the Moral that it contains, almost apologize for such a deviation, or in some degree even demand it. Madame Favart having been reluctantly conducted to the Marshal's Bed, afterwards expressed herself with some contempt respecting him. Piqued at the insinuation, he had recourse to those Expedients, which *Pope*, one of the most correct of modern Poets, who exclaims,

“Curst be the Verse, how soft soe'er it flow,  
That tends to make one Honest Man my Foe;  
Give Virtue Scandal, Innocence a Fear,  
Or from the soft-eyed Virgin steal a Tear;”

yet has not hesitated to enumerate in his Poem of “January and May.” The auxiliary proved too powerful for the principal, and produced his Death within a short time. He expired nearly in the same manner as the Regent Duke of Orleans had done, about twenty-five years earlier; a Prince, to whom, both in his virtues, his endowments of mind, and his defects or vices, Marshal Saxe exhibited some Analogy.

W. H. U.

Louis the Fifteenth not only occupied the most distinguished place among the European Sovereigns and Powers, during the period of nearly eight years, which intervened between the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the commencement of the War of 1756; but, for a considerable time subsequent to that rupture, every success obtained was on the side of France. Beyond the Atlantic, in the Mediterranean, in Germany, as well as on the French Coasts and Shores, her Arms maintained their ascendancy. Mezerai, or Voltaire, might have expatiated with exultation and pleasure, on the events of Minorca, of Ticonderago, of Braddock's Defeat in Carolina, of Closter-seven, of St. Cas, and of Rochfort; as, on the other hand, assuredly neither Hume nor Smollet could have derived from the narration of those unfortunate or disgraceful Transactions, any subject of Triumph. That Louis, no less than his People, sunk under the energies of the first Mr. Pitt, between 1759 and 1762, must be admitted: but, all the achievements of that great Minister, in both Hemispheres, on the land and on the water, from the Philippines to Cuba, and from Cape Breton to Senegal, were sacrificed at the peace of Fontainebleau. We seemed to have humbled the two Branches

of the House of Bourbon, only to re-construct their fallen power: restoring all that we ought in wisdom to have retained: and retaining or acquiring all that in policy we should have surrendered to France and Spain. Witness Canada and Florida, which we preserved! Witness the Havanna, Martinique, Guadaloupe, and so many other Islands or Settlements which we ceded; not to include in the list, Manilla, a capture unknown to the British Ministry who signed the Treaty, and of which the ransom has never been paid, down to the present moment! Even the popularity of George the Third, sustained by the most irreproachable and exemplary display of private virtues, could not stand the shock of such a Peace; which covered him with nearly as much Obloquy, as that of Utrecht had inflicted on Queen Anne.

France, from 1763 to 1770, repaired her losses; and while her Councils were guided by the vigorous, as well as enterprizing Mind of Choiseul, Louis the Fifteenth, however vanquished he might have been in the preceding contest, re-appeared with at least as much Dignity on the Theatre of Europe, as Louis the Fourteenth had done after the War of the Succession. Choiseul, secure on the

side of Flanders and of Germany, by the Alliance subsisting with the House of Austria since 1756, extended succours to the Polish Insurgents, against Catherine the Second; laid the foundations of the Swedish Revolution, which was effected by Gustavus the Third in 1772; and reduced to the Obedience of his Master, the Island of Corsica, nearly about the time when that Country gave Birth to a Man, whose relentless and insatiable Ambition or Vengeance, have equally laid waste the Territory of France, and polluted by his Crimes, or converted into a Desert, the most flourishing Kingdoms of the Continent. The universal abhorrence excited by his Atrocities, renders it unnecessary to name a Monster, whose very existence, and still more, whose favoured place of retreat, an Island situate on the delicious shore of Tuscany, midway between Leghorn and Toulon, surrounded by the Splendor of a Prince, seem to reproach the justice, no less than the policy, of the European Powers.\*

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\* The Events which have taken Place since the Autumn of 1814, when these Remarks were made on the Selection of the Isle of Elba for Bonaparte's Residence, have too well proved their Solidity.

Louis the Fifteenth, like his Predecessor, survived his only Son ; justifying the Roman Poet's remark on the evils that accompany and characterize longevity, when he says,—

*“ Hæc data Poena diu viventibus, ut renovata  
Semper clade Domus, multis in luctibus, inque  
Perpetuo Mœrore, et nigra veste senescant.”*

The Dauphin Louis died at Fontainebleau, towards the end of 1765, at the age of about thirty-six. Whether we consider his Death abstractedly, with reference to his Character and mental qualities ; or whether we try it by the calamitous reign of his son, which may be said, without a Metaphor, to have brought France to the Block ; we must be compelled to regard the Dauphin's premature End, as one of the most unfortunate events which could have taken place for the French Monarchy, and for the House of Bourbon. It was produced, as I have been assured by persons who had frequent access to him, and who enjoyed a distinguished place in his confidence ; from the effect of Medicines which he took, in order to repel or to disperse an eruption that appeared near his Mouth. He was supposed to have

caught the Disorder from his wife the Dauphiness, a Princess of Saxony, daughter of Augustus the Third, King of Poland, who had a violent scorbutic humour in her Blood. Malignity proceeded so far, as even to accuse the King his Father of having caused the Dauphin's death, by administering to him slow poison; a circumstance principally founded on the state of extenuation and languor to which he was reduced, during the long malady that brought him to the Grave; but, for which atrocious imputation, not the slightest foundation existed in truth.

Louis the Fifteenth, though naturally indolent, as well as afterwards dissolute; and though he became, like Tiberius, profligate towards the close of his life; manifested no cruelty, nor systematic atrocity of character. He neither resembled Louis the Eleventh, nor Bonaparte. His Son possessed firmness of mind, and a solid understanding, cultivated by polite letters. For the society of Men distinguished by Talents of any kind, the Dauphin displayed as strong a partiality, as the King betrayed a Disinclination, throughout his whole reign. Devout, and in some degree tinctured with Bigotry, he

nevertheless sought occasions of conversing with individuals, known to have embraced ideas adverse to the Catholic Faith, as well as subversive of revealed Religion. With *David Hume*, then Secretary to the English Embassy at Paris, and at the summit of his literary reputation; or as the "Heroic Epistle" says, "drunk with Gallic Wine, and "Gallic Praise;" the Dauphin, not a great while before his decease, held a long conversation, principally turning on points connected with philosophical Disquisition. When *Hume* was presented to him, "I know," said he, "that you hold very free opinions "on matters connected with Revelation; "but my principles are fixed, and therefore "speak out to me; for otherwise I should "only be conversing with a man in a Mask." He was the third Dauphin in hereditary descent, who had attained to manhood without ascending the French Throne, within the short space of fifty-four years. His Death was followed, at no long interval of time, by that of the Dauphiness his widow, and the Queen his mother; leaving Louis the Fifteenth at nearly sixty, surrounded by his Daughters, and his Grandchildren.



Unquestionably, the four last years of his reign were passed in a manner worthy of Sardanapalus; oblivious of his public Duties, insensible to national Glory, and lost to every sentiment of private Virtue, or even of Decorum. From the instant that, dismissing Choiseul from his Councils, and rejecting the favorable opportunity offered him by the dispute which arose between England and Spain, relative to the Falkland Islands, for recovering the Honor, as well as the Territories, lost by France during the preceding War; he abandoned himself to pleasures no longer suited to his age;—from that moment, he became an object of Contempt and Opprobrium to his own Subjects. Unfortunately for his Fame, he has been principally tried and estimated by this inglorious portion of his life. Yet, even while the Dukes of Aiguillon and of Richlieu directed public Affairs, while the Great Seal of France was entrusted to Maupeou, while the Finances were abandoned to the Abbé Terray, and while a Woman of the most libertine description, Madame du Barry, presided over his looser Hours; he at least exerted some proofs of vigor in his treatment of the Parliaments of his Kingdom, whom he controled and

banished: unlike his yielding Successor, who suffered himself to be overwhelmed under the progressive effects of popular Innovation.

When we compare the concluding years of Louis the Fourteenth's reign, from 1712, to 1715, with the termination of his great Grandson's life, from 1770 to 1774; we shall see that the Court was alike, in both instances, completely under female control. It would indeed be as unjust to place Madame du Barry in competition with Madame de Maintenon; as to elevate Thais or Campaspé, to a level with Aspasia, or with Livia. Yet did the Palace and Court of the former Prince, exhibit as degrading a scene of mingled Hypocrisy, Bigotry, and Superstition; as Versailles displayed a spectacle of Debauch and licentious Pleasure, under the latter Sovereign. If it were permitted to cite as authority for this assertion, the "*Pucelle*" of Voltaire; a Poem no less captivating from its wit, than dangerous from its spirit and tendency; but, the historical Portraits scattered throughout which production, are sketched with admirable ability, by a master hand; we might there behold the ignominious figure which "the Phoenix of

the Bourbons" presented in the evening of his life, surrounded by Devotees, Priests, and Monks,

"Hercule en Frôc, et Priape en Soutane."

Louis the Fifteenth, during his last years, excites nevertheless more disgust than his Predecessor, because it is unqualified by any sentiment of pity, or of respect. His Death, which took place under these circumstances, was hailed by the French, as the *Æra* of their liberation from a yoke equally disgraceful and severe: while the new Reign awakened in a Nation characterized by its superficial or sanguine frame of mind, the most extravagant visions of future felicity. We may however safely assume that Louis the Fifteenth, who had refused to join Charles the Third of Spain in 1770, when every circumstance invited him to a rupture with England; and who was known to have taken an unalterable determination of terminating his life in peace;—we may be assured that such a Prince, at sixty-eight or seventy, would not have sent *La Fayette* and *Rochambeau* across the Atlantic, there to imbibe the principles of Rebellion and Re-

publicanism, with which they returned to inoculate France, and to subvert the Throne. Louis the Sixteenth, only four years after his Accession, in 1778, embraced, though against his own judgment, this pernicious and improvident measure, from which, in an eminent degree, flowed the destruction of his House. So true is it, that—

*“Evertere Domos totas, optantibus ipsis,  
Dit faciles.”*

We cannot reflect without some surprise, that Louis the Fifteenth manifested more attention during his last illness, to the well-being and support of Madame du Barry, his Mistress, after his decease; than his Predecessor displayed for Madame de Maintenon, to whom he had been united near thirty years, by the legitimate ties of Marriage. Scarron's Widow possessed nothing as her own individual property, on the first of September, 1715, when Louis the Fourteenth breathed his last, except the Estate of Maintenon, in the Vicinity of Paris, which she had purchased; and a Pension from the Crown, of two thousand Louis d'Ors a year: while the former, besides the immense pecuniary

gratifications which she had received from her Royal Lover during the period of her favor, was presented by him with the beautiful Chateau and Estate of Lusienne, situate near Marly. Yet Louis the Fourteenth, before he expired, contented himself with only recommending his future widow, to the protection of the Duke of Orleans. His Successor, on the contrary, at an early period of his disorder, after expressing the utmost anxiety respecting his Mistress, delivered into the Duke d'Aiguillon's hands, confidentially for her use in the event of his own Decease, a Port-Folio containing in Notes, the sum of three Millions of Livres, or about one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds Sterling. The Duke, with the true Spirit of a Courtier, carried this Deposit to the new King.

At sixty-four, Louis the Fifteenth died of the small-pox, at Versailles ; as his Grandfather, the Dauphin, only Son of Louis the Fourteenth, was carried off at the Palace of Meudon, by the same Malady, in 1711. While any reasonable expectations of his recovery were entertained, Madame du Barry continued her attendance about his person ; every idea of the nature of his Disease, being

studiously concealed from him : nor was he permitted to regard himself in a looking-Glass, lest he should discover the change effected in his countenance, by the Pustules which covered his face. The Duke de Richlieu even kept guard at the Door of his Bed-chamber, to prevent the intrusion of any Priest or Ecclesiastic who might procure admission, and by warning him of his danger, awaken his apprehensions of Eternity. But, no sooner was his alarming situation understood, and the apparent improbability of his surviving the attack of so malignant a Distemper, became disseminated abroad ; than Madame Louisa of France, the King's youngest daughter, who had taken the Veil as a Carmelite Nun, quitting the Convent of which she was Prioress at St. Denis, repaired to Versailles. With irresistible importunity she demanded admittance to her Father, whom she admonished of his perilous state, and impending Dissolution : he was already sinking under the ravages of the Disease, which left no hope of his surmounting its violence. Madame du Barry had been sent away some Days before, to Lusienne. The King expired in a narrow white Bed, placed between two windows of his Apartment, which

were constantly kept open on account of the heat of the Weather, though the Season of the year was by no means advanced, it being only the 10th day of May, 1774. These particulars have all been related to me, not long after they took place, by a Gentleman, one of his Pages, who attended him throughout the whole course of his Disorder.

It is obvious, after a Consideration of these Facts, that the successor of Louis the Fifteenth must have ascended the Throne under the most favourable Auspices. To the majesty of the first European Crown, he added the brilliancy of opening Life, not having yet completed his twentieth year. But, though young, Louis possessed neither the Graces, the activity, nor the elasticity of mind, usually characteristic of Youth. Heavy, inert, inclined to Corpulency, and destitute of all aptitude for any exercises of the body, except Hunting; he seemed, like James the First of England, unfit for appearing in the Field. His manners were shy; a natural result of his neglected Education; which made Madame du Barry commonly call him, during his Grandfather's life, "*Le gros Garçon, mal élevé.*" Yet never did any

Prince manifest more rectitude of intention, greater probity, or a warmer desire to advance the felicity of his people. Nor was his Understanding by any means inadequate to fulfilling those beneficent designs. He even endeavoured, at an early period of his reign, to repair the want of preceding Instruction, by intense private application. For Geography, he displayed an uncommon passion; and it is well known, that none of his Ministers equalled him in that branch of Knowledge. Before 1778, when the French Cabinet embraced the injudicious determination of aiding the Americans, by sending out D'Estaing with a Fleet to their support; the King had rendered himself so perfect a master of the Topography of the Trans-atlantic Continent, that from the River St. Laurence, to the Southern extremity of Florida, not a head-land, a Bay, a River, or almost an Inlet, were unknown to him. Warmly attached to the Queen his wife, and indisposed to Connexions of Gallantry, his nuptial fidelity could admit of no dispute; and in all the relations of domestic life, he might be esteemed not only blameless, but meritorious. George the Third could hardly lay claim to higher moral esteem and approbation, in his private Character.



Impressed with deep sentiments of filial piety, and of respect for the memory, as well as for the precepts or advice, of his Father the Dauphin; he selected his Ministers in compliance with that Prince's written instructions, which he had carefully preserved, and religiously obeyed. Those instructions impelled him to place the Count de Maurepas at the head of the new Administration, though that Nobleman had then attained a very advanced period of life. He was indeed as old as the Cardinal de Fleury, when he assumed the management of Affairs, having attained his seventy-third year, in 1774; and having passed the preceding twenty-five years in exile, at Bourges, the obscure Capital of the central and secluded Province of Berri. It may however be justly questioned, whether in this choice, Louis the Sixteenth was fortunate. Maurepas, though a Man of superior talents, who preserved in age, all the freshness of his intellect; yet plunged his Country into the Alliance with America, which proved eventually, at no great distance of time, the leading source of all the Revolutionary Calamities that have desolated France. In his selection of Vergennes for the foreign Department, the King apparently manifested more

discernment. I was at Stockholm, in June, 1774, when the Courier, who brought the intelligence of Louis the Fifteenth's Death, delivered to Monsieur de Vergennes, then the French Ambassador at the Court of Sweden, letters recalling him to Paris, in order to form a Member of the Cabinet. Happily for themselves, neither Maurepas nor Vergennes survived to witness the Commencement of the Revolution.

If a combination of almost all those qualities or endowments, which in a private station, conciliate esteem and excite respect, could have secured to Louis the Sixteenth a tranquil reign, he might justly have pretended to that felicity. But, unfortunately, he wanted the bolder and more affirmative features of the mind, which confirm dominion, repress or extinguish innovation, retain the various classes of subjects in their respective Orbits, inspire becoming apprehension, and preserve the Throne from insult or attack. These defects had not indeed become apparent to the Nation at large, as early as 1776; but they were not the less obvious to such Individuals as had access to his Person and Court. Perhaps, had he

succeeded in more tranquil Times, or if he had been the immediate successor of Louis the Fourteenth; under whom, although the Monarchy was convulsed, and had been almost overturned by foreign Enemies towards the Conclusion of that Reign, yet the Monarchical principle and power remained firmly rooted in public opinion; he might have maintained himself in his elevation. But, even before the commencement of the American War, Voltaire, Rousseau, and their Disciples, had undermined both the foundations of the Throne and of the Altar, by inculcating philosophical Principles; which, however fascinating in appearance, were calculated in their results, to propel the inferior ranks upon the upper Orders of Society. A spirit of disquisition, of discontent, of complaint, and of reform, which pervaded not only the mass of the French Population, but, which had infected even the Army, the Navy, and however strange it may seem, the Church itself; menaced the most alarming Consequences, Henry the Fourth and Sully would have anticipated and suppressed it in the Birth. Louis the Thirteenth and Richlieu would have combated and vanquished it in the Field. Louis the Fourteenth and Louvois

would have either dispersed, or have overawed and intimidated it, by Measures of Vigor. Even the Regent Duke, Fleury, or Choiseul, would not have supinely allowed it to mature its destructive powers, till it burst into a Conflagration.

If ever France stood in need of a strong, and even a severe Ruler, it was at the death of Louis the Fifteenth; when the person of the Prince, and the Throne itself, were alike, although from different causes, fallen into universal Contempt. A Sovereign of energy, who had possessed military talents, and who instead of breaking the Household Troops, disarming the royal Authority, and then imprudently convoking the States General; would have mounted on horseback, placed a strong Garrison in the Bastile, arrested the first instigators to Sedition, sent the Duke of Orleans to the Castle of Vincennes, and put himself at the head of his Army in the last resort, against his rebellious Subjects;—such a King might have defied the Revolution. But, Louis the Sixteenth laboured under a double inaptitude, moral and physical. He was the only Monarch since Philip of Valois, if not the single instance that occurs

since Hugh Capet, the Founder of the third Dynasty, who never had, on any occasion, appeared in person among his soldiers. Louis the Fifteenth, and his Son the Dauphin, though neither of them were distinguished by martial ardor, yet assisted in the field, made a nominal Campaign in the Netherlands; and were stationed by Marshal Saxe in such a manner, at the Battle of Fontenoy, as at least to be spectators of, if not participators in, the Victory gained on that memorable Day. Their ill-fated Descendant could never be propelled into such exertions, and he even betrayed a dislike towards shewing himself at the peaceful Ceremony of a Review.

His personal Courage itself, whatever flattery may assert, or candour may suggest, was problematical. That he displayed presence of mind, Calmness, and contempt of Death, when surrounded by a furious populace, in October, 1789, at Versailles, and in June, 1792, at the Tuilleries, cannot be disputed. But, on the Scaffold, in January, 1793, for the performance of which last act he must nevertheless have been prepared, by all the aids of Reflection, and all the supports

of Religion ; he did not comport himself with the serenity and self-possession that characterized Charles the First, and Mary, Queen of Scots, when laying down their Heads on the Block. It must however be admitted on the other hand, that the Guillotine, which was only an atrocious revolutionary Engine, invented, not so much to abbreviate the sufferings of the condemned individual, as to facilitate the despatch of a number of victims with certainty, in a shorter space of time ; bereaved Death of all its grace and dignity. I have likewise seen and read very strong attestations to the firmness, displayed by the King of France in his last Moments. On the 26th of January, 1793, the day on which the official account of his Execution arrived in London ; being alone with the Duke of Dorset, who was then Lord Steward, at St. James's Palace, he received a note, which he immediately shewed me, and which I copied on the spot. It contained these words :—

“ Paris, 21st January, 12 o’Clock.

“ The unfortunate Louis is no more. He suffered Death this Morning, at ten o’Clock, with the most heroic Courage.”

“ To the Duke of Dorset.”

The note had no signature, but the Duke told me, that he knew both the hand-writing and the writer. Yet I have been assured that Louis attempted to resist or impede the Executioners; who, impatient for obvious Reasons, to finish the performance, used a degree of violence, threw him down forcibly on the plank, in which act his face was torn, and finally thrust him under the Guillotine. The Hope and Expectation of a Rescue, which he unquestionably nourished down to the last Moment, might, I am well aware, explain the King's motive for protracting the Time, without impeaching his Courage; and might throw an Air of Irresolution over his Deportment. But, his Queen and his Sister displayed more Decision. Marie Antoinette, and Madame Elizabeth, each, exhibited in turn, one, the Heroism of an elevated mind, superior to Death; the other, the calm resignation of a Saint and a Martyr, under the same Circumstances. Even the Duke of Orleans himself, covered as he was with Crimes and Turpitudes, yet derived from Despair a species of affirmative Courage, hurried to the place of Execution, ascended the Scaffold with Rapidity, and rushed upon his fate.

In the Summer of 1776, when I quitted France, Marie Antoinette may be said to have reached the summit of her Beauty, and of her popularity. Her favor with the Nation at large, declined from the period of her Brother the Emperor Joseph the Second's visit to Paris, in 1777; after which interview between them, her enemies, with equal falsity and malignity, accused her of sacrificing both the treasures and the interests of the French Monarchy, to her Austrian connexions. Her personal charms, which Burke has overrated, consisted more in her elevated manner, lofty demeanour, and Graces of deportment, all which announced a Queen, than in her features or Countenance, which wanted softness and regularity. She had besides weak, or rather, inflamed Eyes; but, her Complexion, which was dazzling, aided by youth, and all the Decorations of Dress, in which Ornaments she displayed great Taste, imposed on the beholder. In the national estimation, her greatest defect at this period of life, consisted in her Sterility; she having been married full six years, without giving any apparent prospect of issue. But, Anne of Austria had remained nearly two and twenty years under the same reproach, be-



fore she brought into the world Louis the Fourteenth. The Count de Provence was likewise destitute of any Children, though as early as 1771 he had espoused a Daughter of the King of Sardinia; while the Count d'Artois, youngest of the three Brothers, married to another Princess of Savoy, was already become a father. His son, born in 1775, had been created Duke d'Angouleme. Both the King and the Count de Provence were then generally regarded, in different ways, as equally inapt for the purposes of Marriage. It had nevertheless been ascertained, that Louis the Sixteenth laboured under no impediment for perpetuating his race, except a slight defect in his physical Organization, easily susceptible of relief by a surgical Operation; but, to undergo which, he for a long time manifested great repugnance. The importance of the case, and the pressing instances which were made to him, having at length however surmounted his scruples, he submitted to it; and the Queen lay in of a Daughter in December, 1778, whose unmerited sufferings, filial Piety, and heroic virtues, have justly endeared her to all Europe. But, Marie Antoinette did not till several years later, produce a Dauphin...

Of the three Royal Brothers, the Count d'Artois had been cast by Nature, in the most graceful Mould. All the Dignity of Louis the Fourteenth, had exclusively descended to him. His elder Brother, the Count de Provence, who resembled the King in his person, was less known to the Nation, in 1776, than either of the others. Moderate in his character, and of retired habits; possessing a strong mind, and a highly cultivated understanding, but, destitute of brilliant or of dangerous talents, he approved himself on all occasions, the most submissive of subjects. Both the younger Princes resided constantly at Versailles, in a part of the Royal Palace; accompanied the King, whenever he repaired to Compiègne or to Fontainebleau; commonly attended him at Mass, as well as to the Chace; and never absented themselves, even on an excursion to Paris, without his permission. Philip, Duke de Chartres, too well known to us by his vindictive and criminal political intrigues, which at a more recent period have conducted in so great a degree, to the subversion of the House of Bourbon; was already fallen, at the Time of which I speak, under the public condemnation or contempt. He had then been married several years, to the

sole Daughter and Heiress of the Duke de Penthièvre, last male of the illegitimate Descendants of Louis the Fourteenth; and the popular voice accused him of having plunged the Prince de Lamballe, his Brother-in-law, the Duke de Penthièvre's only Son, into the Debaucheries which terminated his life in the flower of his age. That young Prince espoused, at a very early period, one of the Princesses of Carignan, collaterally descended from the House of Savoy; whose tragical end in 1792, when she was massacred at the Prison of *La Force* in Paris, forms a revolting feature of the great Act of Blood, denominated "The French Revolution."

As the Prince de Lamballe left no issue, the Duke de Chartres was asserted to have accelerated, or rather to have produced his Death, from the sordid, as well as detestable motive, of inheriting, in right of his Consort, the vast Estates of Penthièvre. However destitute of proof, and perhaps even of just foundation, may have been this imputation; yet the character and notorious profligacy of the Duke, obtained for it universal Belief. Affecting to emulate the Regent Duke of Orleans, his great Grandfather's Example,

whose Portrait was always suspended close to his Bed ; he only imitated that Prince in the licentious depravity of his Manners, and the abandoned nature of his Amours. The Regent, whether in Italy, where he was wounded in 1706, fighting desperately in the Trenches before Turin ; in Spain, where he commanded the French Armies with distinguished lustre ; or at home, while conducting the helm of Affairs, during the Minority of Louis the Fifteenth ; whatever vices he displayed, redeemed them in some measure by his valour, loyalty, and capacity. His degenerate Descendant incurred the abhorrence of all Europe, overturned the Throne of France, perished by the Guillotine, and may be esteemed the most atrocious, as well as flagitious individual who has arisen in modern Ages, for the calamity of Mankind, with the single exception of Bonaparte.

Returning to England, in the Summer of 1776, I went down soon afterwards, on a visit to Lord Nugent, at Gosfield in Essex ; a Seat which has since, in the revolutionary events of the present Times, afforded a temporary Asylum to the august Representative of the Capetian Line, when expelled from a Coun-

try over which his Ancestors had reigned, in uninterrupted male Succession, for above eight hundred years! When I visited Gosfield, among the Guests who attracted most attention, might justly be reckoned the late Lord Temple, then far advanced in life, and very infirm. In his person he was tall and large, though not inclined to corpulency. A Disorder, the seat of which lay in his ribs, bending him almost double, compelled him, in walking, to make use of a sort of Crutch: but his Mind seemed exempt from any decay. His Conversation was animated, brilliant, and full of entertainment. Notwithstanding the nick name of "Squire Gawkey," which he had obtained in the satirical, or party productions of those Times, and which, we may presume, was not given him without good reason; he had nevertheless the air and appearance of a man of high Condition, when he appeared with the Insignia and Decorations of the *Garter*, seated at Table. It is well known that George the Second, who, though he generally yielded to Ministerial violence or importunity, yet manifested often great reluctance and even ill humor, in his manner of compliance on these occasions, strongly disliked Lord Temple. Being how-

ever compelled, in consequence of political arrangements very repugnant to his feelings, to invest that Nobleman with the Order of the *Garter*, the King took so little pains to conceal his aversion, both to the individual, and to the act ; that instead of placing the Ribband decorously over the Shoulder of the new Knight, His Majesty, averting his Head, and muttering indistinctly, some expressions of dissatisfaction, threw it across him, and turned his Back at the same instant, in the rudest manner.

George the Third, on such occasions, possessed or exerted more restraint over his passions, than did his Grandfather. Yet even *He* did not always execute the commands of his Minister, where they were disagreeable or revolting to him, without displaying some reluctance. I have been assured from high contemporary Authority, that at the Ceremony of investing the present Marquis Camden with the Order of the *Garter*, after his Return from Ireland, where he had been Lord Lieutenant ; His Majesty, who felt not a little unwilling to confer it on him, betrayed a considerable degree of ill humor in his countenance and manner. However, as he

knew that it must be performed, Mr. Pitt having pertinaciously insisted on it; the King took the Ribband in his hand, and turning to an Individual present, before the New Knight approached, asked of him, if he knew Lord Camden's Christian Name. The Person thus addressed, after inquiring, informed him that it was John Jeffreys. "What! what!" replied the King; "John Jeffreys! the first Knight of the *Garter*, I believe, that ever was called John Jeffreys." The Aversion of George the Second towards Lord Temple, originated partly in personal, but, more from political motives or feelings. His present Majesty's disinclination to confer the *Garter* on Lord Camden, probably arose merely from considering his Descent, though most honorable and respectable, as not sufficiently illustrious. But, the great talents and qualities of the first Earl, had diffused a lustre over the name of *Pratt*. In the Eye of Reason and of true Philosophy, such a Father conferred more Dignity on his Issue, than if they had derived their origin from Nell Gwynn, or from Mademoiselle de la Querouaille, or from Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland, by a Prince like Charles

the Second. We may exclaim with *Pope* on the Occasion,

“ What, tho’ thy ancient, but ignoble Blood,  
Has crept thro’ Scoundrels ever since the Flood !”

Yet might the Sovereign, when conferring the *Garter*, justly consider the Pretensions of a Duke of St. Albans, as higher than those of Earl Camden ; although the latter was the Heir and Representative of a Man, who united in his legal and public Character, some of the most shining Qualities that can elevate or adorn human Nature. To these endowments of the Father, the Son originally owed the Dignity of the Peerage, which devolved on him. To Mr. Pitt’s friendship he was subsequently indebted for the distinction of the *Garter*.

Lord Nugent was created an Irish *Earl* during the time that I was at Gosfield, having antecedently been raised to the title of *Viscount Clare*. He formed a striking Contrast to Lord Temple, in his Manners and Address. Of an athletic frame, and a vigorous Constitution, though very far advanced in years, he was exempt from infirmity ; possessing a



Stentorian voice, with great animal spirits, and vast powers of Conversation. He was indeed a man of very considerable natural abilities, though not of a very cultivated mind. His talents seemed more adapted to active, than to speculative life; to the Drawing Room, or the House of Commons, than to the Closet. Having sat in many Parliaments, he spoke fluently, as well as with energy and force; was accounted a good Debater, and possessed a species of Eloquence, altogether unembarrassed by any false modesty or timidity. In the progress of a long life, he had raised himself from a private Gentleman, of an ancient family in Ireland, and a considerable patrimonial fortune, to an Irish Earldom; which Dignity, together with his name, he procured to devolve on the late Marquis of Buckingham, then Mr. Grenville, who had married his only daughter. They were both likewise at Gosfield, during the time of which I speak; and Lord Nugent having gone up to town, for the purpose of kissing the King's Hand, upon his new Creation, returned from thence on the following day, as we were seated at Table, after Dinner. The object of his visit to St. James's, was well known by every one present; but he immediately announced

it, as soon as he had taken his place, by filling out a glass of Wine, and toasting his Daughter's health, as *Lady Mary Grenville*.

Lord Nugent, when young, had occupied a distinguished place in the favor of Frederick, Prince of Wales; and was more than once destined to have filled an Office in some of those imaginary Administrations, commemorated by Dodington, which were perpetually fabricated at Leicester House, during the long interval of near fourteen years that elapsed between the accession of George the Second, and His Royal Highness's decease in 1751. The Prince died considerably in his debt; nor was the Sum so due, ever liquidated, unless we consider the Offices and Dignities conferred on Lord Nugent by George the Third, at different periods of his reign, as having been in the nature of a retribution for loans made to his father. In return for these marks of royal favor, he presented Verses to the Queen, accompanying a piece of Irish Stuff, which Her Majesty graciously accepted. Both the Poetry, and the Manufacture, were satirically said to be *Irish Stuff*. They began, if I recollect right,

“ Could poor Ierné gifts afford,  
Worthy the Mistress of her Lord,  
Of sculptur'd Gold, a costly frame,  
Just emblem of her worth should flame.”

But Lord Nugent's Muse will never rank him with *Prior*, nor even with *Lyttelton* and *Chesterfield*. He was a better Courtier, than a Poet; and he had always been distinguished by the other Sex. *Glover*, when speaking of him, says, “ Nugent, a jovial and voluptuous Irishman, who had left Popery, for the Protestant religion, money, and widows.” His first Wife, Lady Amelia Plunket, daughter of the Earl of Fingal, brought him only one Son, Colonel Nugent, who died, many years before his father. Mrs. Knight, Sister and Heiress of the celebrated Craggs, Secretary of State under George the First, buried in Westminster Abbey; (and who is immortalized by Pope's Epitaph on him, more perhaps than by his talents, or his actions;) was Lord Nugent's second Wife. She brought him neither felicity nor issue; but she brought him the House and Estate at Gosfield, one of the finest Domains in Essex. To the Countess Dowager of Berkeley, he gave his hand a third time; though not under fortunate Auspices, nor in a happy Hour. The late Mar-

chioness of Buckingham was the only issue of this match, recognized by Lord Nugent. But, his devotion to the Sex, which remained proof to all trials, animated him even to the close of life. Lord Temple and He, both, composed Verses, after this time, addressed to the same Object. I believe it was in the month of August, 1776, that these aged Peers presented some Couplets of their respective compositions, to the late Duchess of Gordon, then in the Meridian of her Charms; when Lord Temple having entertained Her and the Duke at Stow, lighted up the Grotto for her reception. Lord Nugent, to a perfect knowledge of the World, joined a coarse and often licentious, but natural, strong, and ready Wit, which no place, nor company, prevented him from indulging; and the effect of which was augmented by an Irish Accent that never forsook him. It is well known, that when a *Bill* was introduced into the House of Commons, for better watching the Metropolis; in order to contribute towards effecting which object, one of the Clauses went to propose, that Watchmen should be *compelled* to sleep during the day-time; Lord Nugent, with admirable humor, got up, and desired that "he might

be personally included in the provisions of the *Bill*, being frequently so tormented with the Gout, as to be *unable* to sleep either by day, or by night."

While I am on this subject, I cannot resist relating a frolick, which rendered Lord Nugent, or, rather Mr. Nugent, he being then a Commoner, not a little distinguished, towards the end of George the Second's reign. George, Earl of Bristol, eldest of the three Sons of the famous Lord Hervey, whom Pope has, very unjustly, transmitted to Posterity, as "Lord Fanny," and as "Sporus;" like his father, inclined to a degree of effeminity in his person, manners, and dress. Probably, these characteristics of deportment, while they exposed him to some animadversion or ridicule, led to a supposition that they were connected with want of spirit; and that he would not promptly resent insult. Certain it is that Mr. Nugent, then a man of consideration, fortune, and fashion, living in the highest company of the Metropolis; being one Evening at Lord Temple's House in Pall-Mall, where a splendid Assembly of both Sexes was collected; laid a singular Bet with Lord Temple, that he would spit in the Earl of Bristol's Hat. The wager was accepted, and Mr. Nu-

gent instantly set about its accomplishment. For this purpose, as he passed Lord Bristol, who stood in the door-way of one of the Apartments, very richly dressed, holding his Hat under his Arm, with the inside uppermost; Mr. Nugent, turning round as if to spit, and affecting not to perceive Lord Bristol, performed that act in his Hat.

Pretending the utmost concern and distress at the unintentional rudeness that he had committed; Mr. Nugent made a thousand Apologies to the Earl for his Indecorum, and entreated to be allowed to wipe off the affront with his pocket Handkerchief: but, Lord Bristol calmly taking out his own, used it for that purpose; besought Mr. Nugent not to be discomposed; assured him that he was not discomposed himself; wiped the inside of his Hat; and then replacing it as before, under his Arm, asked Mr. Nugent whether he had any farther occasion for it in the same way? Having so done, the Earl, without changing a muscle of his Countenance, or manifesting any irritation, quitted the place where he stood; sat down to play with the party he usually made at Cards, finished his two or three Rubbers, and returned home. Mr. Nugent, after triumphantly winning his Bet,

considered the matter as terminated ; but in this supposition he counted without his host. Early on the following Morning, before he was risen, he received a Note, similar in its nature and contents to that which Gil Blas tells us he delivered to his Master, Don Mathias de Sylva ; but, with the summons contained in which, Mr. Nugent did not manifest the same careless promptitude to comply, as the Spanish Grandee exhibited, in the Novel of Le Sage. The Note acquainted him, that Lord Bristol expected and demanded Satisfaction for the insult of the preceding night, without delay ; naming time, as well as place. An instant answer was required.

Mr. Nugent now perceived that he had involved himself in a very serious affair of Honor, where he had only meant to gratify a wanton moment of frolick. However personally brave, he felt that the Exertion of his Courage, in order to cover or justify a premeditated insult, which no Sophistry could warrant or excuse, would only aggravate his offence. Under this impression, having determined therefore to make reparation, he wrote to Lord Bristol, offering every possible Apology for the act committed ; which, he admitted, would be inexcusable, if it had

been meant as an Affront. But, as the best extenuation of so gross a seeming violation of all Decorum, he added, that it did not arise from the most remote intention of insulting the Earl, the whole Matter having originated in a Bet. He concluded by professing his readiness to ask pardon in the most ample manner; requesting that the business might not produce any further consequences. To this Application Lord Bristol replied, that though he was disposed readily to admit, and to accept, the proffered Reparation; yet, as the Affront had been committed in public Company, so must the exacted Apology be made; and he named the Club-room at White's, as the place where he would receive it from Mr. Nugent. Not, however, by any means, Lord Bristol added, from him only; for, as he now understood that the Act itself owed its rise to a wager, it became clear that there must be another person implicated in the Transaction. He insisted therefore on knowing the name of that individual, from whom, as a participator in the Frolick, he should equally exact an Apology; and declaring that on no other conditions would he relinquish his right to demand personal Satisfaction. In consequence of so peremptory a Requisition, Mr.



Nugent owned that Lord Temple was the person to whom he had alluded ; and both the Gentlemen were finally reduced to comply with the terms, by asking pardon in the Club-room at White's. Lord Bristol then declared himself satisfied, and the Affair at an end.

The late Lord Sackville told me, that when young, he was well acquainted with Lord Mark Kerr ; a Nobleman whose person being, like Lord Bristol's, cast by Nature in a very delicate Mould, sometimes subjected him among strangers, to insults, from a supposition that a man of so feminine a figure, would not be prone to resent an Affront. In this calculation they were however egregiously deceived, he being a person of decided Courage. Shortly after the Battle of Dettingen, during the Summer of the year 1743, the Earl of Stair, then commanding the British Forces in Germany, under George the Second, entertained at his Table several French Officers, who had been taken prisoners in that Engagement. A numerous Company sat down to Dinner, in the Tent of the Commander-in-chief, among whom was Lord Mark ; who being Son to the Marquis

of Lothian, and nearly related to Lord Stair, acted as one of his Aides du Camp. Lord Sackville was present on the occasion. A difference of opinion having arisen during the repast, on some point which was maintained by one of the French Officers, with great pertinacity; Lord Mark Kerr, in a very gentle tone of voice, ventured to set him right on the matter of fact. But, the Frenchman, unconscious of his Quality, and perhaps thinking that a frame so delicate, did not enclose a high Spirit; contradicted him in the most gross terms, such as are neither used nor submitted to among Gentlemen. The circumstance took place so near to Lord Stair, as unavoidably to attract his attention. No notice whatever was taken of it at the time, and after Dinner the company adjourned to another Tent, where Coffee was served. Lord Mark coming in about a quarter of an Hour later than the others, Lord Stair no sooner observed him, than calling him aside, "Nephew," said he, "I think it is impossible for you to pass by the affront that you received from the French Officer at my Table. You must demand Satisfaction; however much I regret the necessity for it." "Oh, My

"Lord," answered Lord Mark, with his characteristic Gentleness of Manner, "you need not be under any uneasiness on that subject. We have already fought. I ran him through the Body. He died on the spot, and they are at this moment about to bury him. I knew too well what I owed to myself, and I was too well convinced of your Lordship's way of thinking, to lose a moment in calling the Officer to account."

I passed the ensuing Winter, of 1776-7, in London; a period which is now so distant; and the Manners, as well as the inhabitants of the Metropolis, have undergone since that Time, so total a Change, that they no longer preserve almost any similarity. The sinister events of the American War, had already begun to shed a degree of political gloom over the Capital and the Kingdom; but, this Cloud, dark as it was, bore no comparison with the terror and alarm that pervaded the firmest Minds in 1792, and 1793, after the first Explosion of the French Revolution, the Deposition of Louis the Sixteenth, and the commencement of the Continental War in Flanders. In 1777, we in fact only contended

for Empire and Dominion. No fears of subversion, extinction, and subjugation to foreign violence, or to revolutionary arts, interrupted the general tranquillity of Society. It was subjected, indeed, to other Fetters, from which we have since emancipated ourselves; those of Dress, Etiquette, and Form. The lapse of two Centuries could scarcely have produced a greater alteration in these particulars, than have been made by about forty years. That Costume, which is now confined to the Le-vee, or the Drawing-room, was then worn by persons of Condition, with few exceptions, every where, and every day. Mr. Fox and his friends, who might be said to dictate to the Town, affecting a style of neglect about their persons, and manifesting a contempt of all the usages hitherto established, first threw a sort of discredit on Dress. From the House of Commons, and the Clubs in St. James's Street, the Contagion spread through the private Assemblies of London. But, though gradually undermined, and insensibly perishing of an Atrophy, Dress never totally fell, till the Æra of Jacobinism and of Equality, in 1793, and 1794. It was then that Pantaloons, cropped Hair, and Shoe-strings, as well as the total abolition of Buckles

and Ruffles, together with the disuse of Hair-powder, characterized the men: while ladies, having cut off those Tresses, which had done so much execution; and one *Lock* of which purloined, gave rise to the finest Model of mock-heroic Poetry, which our own, or any other language can boast; exhibited Heads rounded “*à la Victime, et à la Guillotine*,” as if ready for the stroke of the Axe. A Drapery, more suited to the Climate of Greece or of Italy, than to the temperature of an Island situate in the fifty-first Degree of Latitude; classic, elegant, luxurious, and picturesque, but, ill calculated to protect against damp, cold, and fogs; superseded the ancient female attire of Great Britain; finally levelling or obliterating almost all external distinction between the highest and the lowest of the Sex, in this Country. Perhaps, with all its incumbrances, penalties, and inconveniences, it will be found necessary, at some not very distant period, to revive, in a certain degree, the empire of Dress.

At the time of which I speak, the “*Gens de Lettres*,” or “Blue Stockings,” as they were commonly denominated, formed a very numerous, powerful, compact Phalanx, in the

midst of London. Into this Society, the two Publications which I had recently given to the World; one, on the Northern Kingdoms of Europe; the other, on the History of France under the Race of Valois; however destitute of merit they might be, yet facilitated and procured my admission. Mrs. Montague was then the *Madame du Deffand* of the English Capital; and her House constituted the central point of union, for all those persons who already were known, or who emulated to become known, by their talents and productions. Her supremacy, unlike that of *Madame du Deffand*, was indeed, established on more solid foundations than those of intellect; and rested on more tangible materials, than any with which Shakespear himself could furnish her. Though she had not as yet begun to construct the splendid Mansion, in which she afterwards resided, near Portman Square, she lived in a very elegant house in Hill Street. Impressed probably, from the suggestions of her own knowledge of the World, with a deep conviction of that great Truth laid down by Moliere, which no Man of Letters ever disputed; that "*Le vrai Amphitriton est celui chez qui l'on dîne*;" Mrs.

Montague was accustomed to open her House to a large Company of both Sexes, whom she frequently entertained at Dinner. A service of plate, and a table plentifully covered, disposed her guests to admire the splendor of her Fortune, not less than the lustre of her Talents. She had found the same results flowing from the same causes, during the visit that she made to Paris, after the Peace of 1763; where she displayed to the astonished *Literati* of that Metropolis, the extent of her pecuniary, as well as of her mental resources. As this topic formed one of the subjects most gratifying to her, she was easily induced to launch out on it, with much apparent Complacency. The Eulogiums lavished on her Repasts, and the astonishment expressed at the magnitude of her Income, which appeared prodigiously augmented, by being transformed from Pounds Sterling, into French Livres; seemed to have afforded her as much Gratification, as the Panegyrics bestowed upon the "Essay on the Genius and Writings of Shakespear."

Mrs. Montague, in 1776, verged towards her sixtieth year; but her person, which was

thin, spare, and in good preservation, gave her an appearance of less antiquity. From the infirmities often attendant on advanced life, she seemed to be almost wholly exempt. All the lines of her Countenance bespoke intelligence, and her Eyes were accommodated to her cast of features, which had in them something satirical and severe, rather than amiable or inviting. She possessed great natural cheerfulness, and a flow of animal spirits; loved to talk, and talked well on almost every subject; led the Conversation, and was qualified to preside in her Circle, whatever subject of discourse was started: but her manner was more dictatorial and sententious, than conciliating or diffident. There was nothing feminine about her; and though her opinions were usually just, as well as delivered in language suited to give them force, yet the organ which conveyed them, was not soft or harmonious. Destitute of taste in disposing the ornaments of her Dress, she nevertheless studied or affected those aids, more than would seem to have become a woman professing a philosophic Mind, intent on higher pursuits than the Toilet. Even when approaching to fourscore, this female weakness still accompanied her; nor could



she relinquish her Diamond Necklace and Bows, which, like Sir William Draper's "blushing Ribband," commemorated by "Junius," formed, of Evenings, the perpetual ornament of her emaciated person. I used to think that these glittering appendages of Opulence, sometimes helped to dazzle the Disputants, whom her arguments might not always convince, or her literary reputation intimidate. That reputation had not as yet received the rude attack made on it by Dr. Johnson at a subsequent period, when he appears to have treated with much irreverence, her "Essay on Shakespear," if we may believe his Biographer, Boswell. Notwithstanding the defects and weaknesses that I have enumerated, she possessed a masculine understanding, enlightened, cultivated, and expanded by the acquaintance of Men, as well as of Books. Many of the most illustrious persons in rank; no less than in ability, under the reigns of George the Second and Third, had been her correspondents, friends, companions, and admirers. Pulteney, Earl of Bath, whose portrait hung over the Chimney piece in her Drawing room; and George, the first Lord Lyttelton, so eminent for his Genius, were among the number. She was

constantly surrounded by all that was distinguished for attainments or talents, male or female, English or foreign; and it would be almost ungrateful in me not to acknowledge the gratification derived from the conversation and intercourse of such a society.

Though Mrs. Montague occupied the first place among the "*beaux Esprits*" at this period, she was not without female competitors for so eminent a distinction. Mrs. Vesey might indeed be said to hold the second rank: but, unlike Mademoiselle *de l'Espinasse* at Paris, who under the Auspices of d'Alembert, raised a separate literary Standard from Madame *du Deffand*; Mrs. Vesey only aspired to follow at a humble distance, the brilliant Track of Mrs. Montague. The former rather seemed desirous to assemble persons of celebrity and talents, under her roof, or at her table, than assumed or pretended to form one of the Number, herself. Though not lodged with the same magnificence as Mrs. Montague, yet she entertained with less form, as well as less ostentation. Mrs. Vesey's repasts were at once more select, and more delicate. Farther advanced in life than Mrs. Montague, she possessed

no personal advantages of manner, and studied no ornaments of Dress. Simplicity, accompanied by a sort of oblivious inattention to things passing under her very sight, characterized her. In absence of mind, indeed, she might almost be said to equal the Duke de Brancas, Chamberlain to Anne of Austria, relative to whose continual violation of common rules, Madame de Sevigné has consigned to us so many amusing Anecdotes. With Mrs. Vesey this forgetfulness extended to such a point, that she sometimes hardly remembered her own name. It will scarcely be credited, that she could declaim against second marriages, to a Lady of Quality who had been twice married, and though Mr. Vesey was her own second Husband. When at last reminded of the circumstance, she only exclaimed, "Bless me, my dear, I had quite forgotten it!" There was, indeed, some decay of mind in such want of recollection. Her sister-in-law, who lived in the same House with her, and who formed, physically as well as morally, a perfect contrast to Mrs. Vesey, superintended all domestic arrangements. From their opposite figures, qualities, and endowments, the one was called "Body," the other "Mind."

In these two Houses might then be seen many or most of the persons of both Sexes, eminent for literary Attainments, or Celebrity of any kind. Mrs. Thrale, still better known by the name of Mrs. Piozzi, was to be met with frequently in this Society, followed or attended by Mr. Thrale, and by Dr. Johnson. Of the former, it is unnecessary to say any thing; and relative to the last, after the laboured, minute portraits which have been drawn of him under every attitude, what is it possible to say new?—I will freely confess that his rugged exterior and garb, his uncouth gestures, his convolutions and distortions, when added to the rude or dogmatical manner in which he delivered his opinions and decisions on every point;—rendered him so disagreeable in company, and so oppressive in conversation, that all the superiority of his talents could not make full amends, in my estimation, for these defects. In his anger, or even in the warmth of argument, where he met with opposition, he often respected neither age, rank, nor sex; and the usages of polished life imposed a very inadequate restraint on his expressions, or his feelings. What are we to think of a man, who, by the testimony

of his own Biographer, denominated Lord Russel and Algernon Sidney, "Rascals;" qualified Pennant by the Epithet of "a Dog," because in his political Opinions he was a *Whig*; gave to Fielding, the appellations of "a Blockhead, and a barren Rascal;" and in speaking of King William the Third, invariably termed him "a Scoundrel?" If not irascible, he was certainly dictatorial, coarse, and sometimes almost impracticable. Those whom he could not always vanquish by the force of his intellect, by the depth and range of his arguments, and by the compass of his gigantic faculties, he silenced by rudeness; and I have, myself, more than once, stood in the predicament which I here describe. Yet, no sooner was he withdrawn, and with him had disappeared these personal imperfections, than the sublime attainments of his Mind left their full effect on the Audience: for, such the whole Assembly might be in some measure esteemed, while he was present. His beautiful Compositions, both prose and poetical, the unquestionable benevolence and philanthropy of his character, his laborious and useful, as well as voluminous and toilsome productions, when added to his literary fame and pre-eminence;—all these

combined qualities so overbore or subdued, the few who ventured to contend with him, that submission or silence formed the only protection, and the ordinary refuge, to which they had recourse.

We never can enough regret, that a Man who possessed such poetic talents as are displayed in his two Imitations of Juvenal; "London," and the "Vanity of Human Wishes;" should have neglected or avoided that Branch of Composition, in which he might have attained to such comprehensive eminence. If Pope's Imitations of Horace, have more suavity, delicacy, and taste, than Johnson's productions can boast; the latter breathe a spirit of sublime and severe Morality, mingled with a philosophic grandeur of thought, which is equally captivating, as it is impressive and instructive. How admirable is his picture of *Charles the Twelfth*, as opposed to that of *Hannibal*! How fine is the comparison drawn between *Wolsey* and *Sejanus*! What can exceed the judgment shewn in selecting *Charles the Seventh*, the Bavarian Emperor of 1741, as opposed to the *Xerxes* of the Roman Satirist! The English language offers, perhaps, nothing

more chaste, correct, and yet harmonious, than these Verses, which are free from any pedantry, or affectation of learning. The fact however is, that Johnson did not dare to yield to the seductions of the Muse, or to abandon himself to the Inspiration of Poetry. He was compelled to restrain his efforts, and to limit them to the more temperate walk of Prose, however capable he felt himself to be of emulating Addison, or Gray, or Pope. It is well known, that he was constitutionally subject to a melancholy, morbid humor, which, advancing with his years, approached on certain occasions, to something like alienation of Mind. Well aware of this infirmity, he was apprehensive of its effects. Topham Beauclerk, who lived in great intimacy with him, often expressed to him the astonishment and regret, naturally excited by his apparent neglect of such Poetic Powers as Nature had conferred on him. Johnson heard him in silence, or made little reply to these remonstrances. But, on Mr. Beauclerk's making the same remark to Mr. Thrale, that Gentleman immediately answered, that "the real reason why Johnson did not apply his faculties to Poetry, was, that he dared not trust himself in such a pursuit, his

“ Mind not being equal to the species of  
“ Inspiration which Verse demands ; though  
“ in the walk of prose Composition, whether  
“ moral, philological, or biographical, he  
“ could continue his labors, without apprehension of any injurious Consequences.”

If, nevertheless, after rendering due homage to his paramount abilities, which no testimony of mine can affect, I might venture to criticise so eminent a person, as having been deficient in any particular branch of Information and polite knowledge, I should say that his deficiency lay in History. Boswell has very aptly compared his understanding to an intellectual Mill, into which subjects were thrown, in order to be ground to Atoms, or pulverized. And Mrs. Piozzi somewhere remarks, in better language than I can do it by memory, that “ his mind resembled a royal pleasure Garden, within  
“ whose ample dimensions every thing subservient to dignity, beauty, or utility, was  
“ to be found, from the stately Cedar, down  
“ to the lowliest plant or herb.” That this assertion, if loosely and generally taken, is perfectly just, no person can dispute, who knew him. That he was even thoroughly



conversant in the modern History of Europe, for the last two or three Centuries, is incontestable; and still less will it be denied, that he intimately knew all the classic periods of Greek and Roman Story, most of which he had studied or perused in the original Writers. But, these attainments he shared with many of his Contemporaries. In the History of Europe during the middle Ages, by which I mean, from the Destruction of the Roman Empire in the West, in the year 476, through the ten Centuries that nearly elapsed before the revival of letters, I always thought him very imperfectly versed; if not, on some portions, uninformed and ignorant. To have compared his knowledge, on these subjects, with the information which Gibbon, or which Robertson possessed, would have been an insult to truth. But, as far as I could ever presume to form an opinion, he was much below either Burke, or Fox, in all general historical information.

Even as a Biographer, which constitutes a minor species of History, Johnson, however masterly, profound, and acute, in all that relates to Criticism, to discrimination, and to dissection of literary merit; has always ap-

peared to me to have wanted many essential qualities, or to have evinced great inaccuracy and neglect. I do not mean to speak of his prejudices and political partialities, which hardly allow him to do justice to Milton, or to Addison, because the one was in his Principles a violent Republican, and the other was a Whig; just as he calls our great Hampden, "the Zealot of Rebellion:" Prejudices so deeply rooted in his Mind, as to induce him to maintain the moral Superiority of Charles the Second, over His late Majesty King George the Second.—I allude to errors that could only have arisen from an ignorance of facts, with which he might and ought to have been acquainted. What shall we say, when we find him telling us, that Stepney, the Poet, "was invited into public life by the Duke of Dorset?" The event in question, must have taken place about 1683, towards the end of Charles the Second's reign. But, the Creation of the Dukedom of Dorset, only originated under George the First, in 1720. In like manner he informs us, that Prior published about 1706, "a volume of Poems, with the encomiastic Character of his deceased patron, the *Duke* of Dorset." No doubt he means to speak of Charles, *Earl*

of Dorset, who died nearly at that time: His mistakes, or his omissions and defect of information, in narrating the life of that distinguished Nobleman, are much more gross: Johnson makes him succeed to James Cranfield, *second* Earl of Middlesex, in 1674, his uncle; who was already dead, many years antecedent. It was the *third* Earl of Middlesex, *Lionel*, to whose estates and title the Earl of Dorset succeeded, or was raised by Charles the Second. On all the interesting particulars of his marriages, his private life, and his decease, relative to which objects Curiosity must be so naturally and warmly excited, the Biographer is either silent or misinformed. I may be told, that these inaccuracies, chiefly chronological, are of little moment. So is it, whether the great Duke of Marlborough died in 1722, or in 1723. But, he who undertakes to compose an account of Churchill's life, is bound to know, and accurately to relate, all the leading facts that attended, or distinguished it. Johnson, we may be assured, would have been, himself, the first to detect and to expose such errors in another Writer.

Mrs. Thrale always appeared to me, to pos-

sess at least as much Information, a Mind as cultivated, and more Brilliancy of Intellect, than Mrs. Montague; but she did not descend among men from such an eminence, and she talked much more, as well as more unguardedly, on every subject. She was the Provider and the Conductress of Johnson, who lived almost constantly under her roof, or more properly under that of Mr. Thrale, both in Town, and at Streatham. He did not however spare her, more than other women, in his Attacks, if she courted or provoked his Animadversion. As little did he appear to respect or to manage Garrick, who frequently made one of the Assembly. His presence always diffused a gaiety over the room; but he seemed to shrink from too near a contact with Johnson, whose superiority of mind, added to the roughness and closeness of his hugs, reduced Garrick to act on the defensive. Mrs. Carter, so well known by her Erudition, the Madame *Dacier* of England; from her religious cast of character, and gravity of deportment, no less than from her intellectual Acquirements, was more formed to impose some check on the asperity or eccentricities of Johnson. Dr. Burney, and his Daughter, the author of "*Evelina*" and "*Cecilia*,"

though both were generally present; I always thought, rather avoided, than solicited, notice. Horace Walpole, whenever he appeared there, enriched and illuminated the Conversation, by Anecdotes, personal and historical; many of which were rendered more curious or interesting, from his having, himself, witnessed their existence, or received them from his father, Sir Robert Walpole. Sir Joshua Reynolds, precluded by his Deafness from mixing in, or contributing to general conversation; his Trumpet held up to his ear, was gratified by the attention of those who addressed to him their discourse; a notice which the resources of his mind enabled him to repay with interest.

Mrs. Chapone, under one of the most repulsive exteriors that any woman ever possessed, concealed very superior attainments, and extensive knowledge. Burke, though occupied in the toils of parliamentary discussion, and of ministerial attack, which left him little leisure to bestow on literary men or subjects; yet sometimes unbent his Faculties among persons, adapted by nature to unfold the powers of delighting and instructing, with which Genius and Study had

enriched him. His presence was, however, more coveted, than enjoyed. Dr. Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph, accompanied by his daughter, Miss Shipley, afterwards married to Sir William Jones, might be frequently seen there. The Abbé Raynal, who passed that Winter in London, was readily admitted, and eagerly courted. It must be confessed that the variety of his Information, and the Facility, as well as Readiness, with which he communicated the stores of his exuberant Memory, would have rendered him a valuable accession to any Circle; but, his Loquacity generally fatigued even those, whom it delighted and improved. The present Lord Erskine, who, thirty years later, attained to the Great Seal, had not yet commenced his career of Jurisprudence. But, the versatility of his Talents, the energy of his Character, and the vivacity of his Conversation, sufficiently manifested, even at that time, the effect which such a union of Qualities might produce, when powerfully urged and impelled towards one object. Happily for himself, he did not want the strongest impulse, arising from domestic pledges and embarrassments, well calculated to call out every faculty of the mind. It is curious to reflect,

that if he had been born one step higher ; if, instead of being the younger Son of a Scotch *Earl*, his father had been a *Marquis*, he never could have been called to the Bar. His endowments, however great, assuredly would not, in any other Profession, have raised him to the Peerage, to fortune, and to fame. His Celebrity, indeed, if we may believe Mr. Fox's Biographer, had not extended across the Straits of Dover, even in 1802, when the Corsican First Consul appears not to have known his name.

Mrs. Boscawen, though inferior in literary Reputation to Mrs. Montague, and perhaps possessed of less general information, yet conciliated more good-will. She had an historical turn of mind ; and in the course of a long life passed among the upper Circles of Society, she had collected and retained a number of curious or interesting Anecdotes of her own Times. Mr. Pepys, now Sir William Pepys, to whose acquaintance and partiality I was not a little indebted, for facilitating my entrance into this Assembly of distinguished Persons, is the last individual whom I shall enumerate. To a mind adorned with classic images, and conversant with classic authors,

he united great colloquial powers. The friend of the first Lord Lyttelton, of Sir James Macdonald, and of Topham Beauclerk, he was in principle a staunch *Whig*; and as Johnson might be justly esteemed a violent, as well as a bigotted *Tory*, much political sparring occasionally took place between them, in the progress of which, many sparks of historical or philosophical fire, were elicited on both sides.

Though literary reputation, or acknowledged Talents and Celebrity of some kind, seemed to constitute the primary title to a place in those Conversations or Societies, from which every species of Play was altogether excluded; yet Rank and Beauty were to be found there, and contributed to render them interesting in the highest Degree. The late Duchess Dowager of Portland, Granddaughter of the Lord Treasurer Oxford, herself a woman of distinguished taste in various branches of Art or *Virtu*, was a frequent visitant. It was impossible to look on her, without reflecting that while still in early Childhood, she had formed the object of Swift's poetic attention, and been the subject of Prior's expiring Muse. I have seen



the Duchess of Devonshire, then in the first bloom of youth, hanging on the sentences that fell from Johnson's lips, and contending for the nearest place to his chair. All the Cynic Moroseness of the Philosopher and the Moralist, seemed to dissolve under so flattering an approach ; to the gratification and distinction resulting from which, he was nothing less than insensible. We may see in Boswell, how tractable, gentle, and accommodating he became while at Inverary, seated between the Duke and Duchess of Argyle.

It is natural to ask, whether the literary Society of London, at the period of which I am speaking, could enter into any competition for extent of talents, and superiority of attainments, with the Society of Paris, that met at the Apartments of Madame *du Defand*, and of Mademoiselle *l'Espinasse*, under the reigns of Louis the Fifteenth and Sixteenth. In other words, whether the persons who formed the Assemblies in the English Capital, can support a comparison for Ability and for Fame, with those who were accustomed to meet in the French Metropolis. If I may presume to give an opinion on this question, I should have no hesitation in saying,

that neither in the period of its duration, nor in the number, merit, or intellectual eminence of the principal members, can the English Society be held up on any parity, scarcely, indeed, in any Comparison, with that of France. The latter Assemblies may be said to have lasted near half a Century, from 1725, or 1730, down to 1775, or 1780; either in the Houses of Madame *du Deffand*, or of Mademoiselle *l'Espinasse*, or in both. The "Blue Stocking" Assemblies at Mrs. Montague's and Mrs. Vesey's, remained in their brilliant State, only for about fifteen years, from 1770, to 1785. Before the last of those periods, Mrs. Vesey had yielded to the progress of time, and of infirmity; while Mrs. Thrale, then become Mrs. Piozzi, had removed from the Banks of the Thames, to those of the Arno.

Mrs. Montague, indeed, survived; and her Dinners, as well as her Assemblies, were perpetuated to a very late period of her life; but the charm and the impulse that propelled them, had disappeared. They were principally supported by, and they fell with, the giant talents of Johnson, who formed the *Nucleus*, round which all the subordinate

Members revolved. It became impossible, after his Decease in 1784, to supply his place. Burke, as I have already observed, had more powerful avocations, and aspired to other honors and emoluments, than those which mere literary Distinction could bestow on him. Hume, and Adam Smith, Men of superior endowments, who might have contributed to support such a Society, had retired to Scotland, or were already dead. Robertson, Lord Kaimes, and Lord Monboddo, resided at Edinburgh; only visiting London occasionally, on Business, or for Recreation. Gibbon, I believe, never emulated to be a Member of these Assemblies, and never attended them. He, too, like Burke, looked more to Politics, than to Letters, for his substantial recompense; being at once a Member of the House of Commons, and a Lord of the Board of Trade. Perhaps, indeed, the freedom of Hume's, and of Gibbon's printed Opinions on subjects connected with Religion, might have rendered their admission difficult, or their society distasteful, to the principal persons who composed these parties; where nothing like a relaxation on points so serious, found protection or support. Johnson, who, as we know, felt so

great a repugnance to every species of Scepticism on matters of religious Belief; that when composing his Dictionary, he would not cite *Hobbes*, the celebrated Philosopher, as an authority for any word or expression used by that Writer, merely because he held *Hobbes's* principles in aversion;—Johnson, who blamed *Tyers*, for only doing justice to *Hume*, upon parts of his character wholly unconnected with his writings; and who said, that “he should just as soon have thought of praising a mad Dog;”—*he* would hardly have remained in the same room with Hume and Gibbon; though when taken once by a sort of surprise, he did not refuse to dine in company with Wilkes; of whom nevertheless Boswell supposes him to say, judging from Johnson’s known Prejudices, that “he would as soon dine with Jack Ketch, as with Jack Wilkes.” It is however to be recollected that Wilkes had designated the Doctor, in a Note subjoined to one of his printed Letters, by the Name of “*Pensioner Johnson*.”

The case was widely different in Paris, where no political pursuits distracted Men of Letters; and where Infidelity, or even Ma-

terialism, far from exciting alienation, would rather have conduced to recommend to notice, the persons professing such tenets. Among the Constellation of eminent Men and Women, who met at Madame *du Deffand's*, and at Mademoiselle *l'Espinasse's*, the greater number were indeed avowedly "*des Esprits forts*;" in other words, Free Thinkers, who not content with being so, themselves, endeavoured to make Proselytes by their writings. It is evident therefore, that the Circle in London was, from various causes, necessarily much more contracted than in France; where every person distinguished by talents, with few exceptions, commonly resided altogether in the Capital. For, Voltaire was virtually banished beyond the French Confines, by the Government; and lived in the territory of Geneva, more by constraint, than by choice or inclination. Rousseau was a Genevese by Birth, who only visited Paris from time to time; sometimes indeed resident in its Vicinity, but often a Wanderer, proscribed and fugitive. After stating these facts, which may explain the causes of the superiority of the literary Society, or Assemblies of Paris, over those of London; it would be idle to contest that they altogether

eclipsed ours, in almost every point of Genius, Science, and intellectual attainment. Who in fact, met at Mrs. Montague's, or at Mrs. Vesey's, that can compete with the names of Maupertuis, Helvetius, Montesquiou, Fontenelle, Voltaire, Madame du Chatelet, the Marquis d'Argens, Mademoiselle de Launay, the President Henault, D'Alembert, Diderot, Condamine, the Duchess de Choiseul, Marmontel, Raynal, the Duke de Nivernois, Marivaux, the Abbé Barthelemi, Turgot, Condorcet, and so many other illustrious persons of both Sexes, who composed the Literati of the French Metropolis? We can scarcely be said to have any thing to oppose to such a cloud of eminent persons, except the single name of Johnson.

There seems, indeed, to be something in the National Character of the French; at least there was so previous to the temporary Extinction of the ancient Monarchy, and the reign of Jacobinism, or military Despotism; more congenial to these mixed Assemblies of persons of literary Endowments, than is found among us. From the middle of the seventeenth Century, as long ago as the Regency of Anne of Austria, we find that such meet-

ings existed at Paris, and enjoyed a great degree of Celebrity. The Hotel de Rambouillet, situate in the Vicinity of the Louvre, constituted, as early as 1650, the point of reunion for all the individuals of both Sexes, distinguished in the Career of Letters. Catherine de Vivonne, (the Madame du Deffand of that period,) Marchioness of Rambouillet, presided at them : an eminence for which she was qualified, by the elegance of her Taste, and the superiority of her Mind. In her House, which became a sort of Academy, the productions of the Time were appreciated, and passed in Review. Dying in 1665, she was succeeded by Henrietta de Coligny, Countess de la Suze ; who, though with inferior reputation, continued to assemble the Wits and "Beaux Esprits" at her Hotel. Her high Birth, her extraordinary Beauty, and her poetic Talents, attracted to her Circle, every person eminent in the Metropolis. It was on Her, that the four classic lines were composed :

" *Quæ Dea sublimi vehitur per Inania Curru ?  
An Juno, an Pallas, an Venus ipsa venit ?  
Si Genus inspicias, Juno : si scripta, Minerva :  
Si spectes Oculos, Mater Amoris erit.*"

Subsequent to her Decease in 1673, these

Conversations seem to have languished for nearly fifty years, till they were revived and re-animated by the Duchess du Maine, a Princess of the royal Blood, grand-daughter of the great Condé, married to the Duke du Maine, natural son of Louis the Fourteenth. After her release from the Castle of Dijon, to which Fortress she had been committed Prisoner by the Regent Duke of Orleans in 1717, for her participation in the Conspiracy of Prince Cellamare; about the year 1722, she began to assemble persons of literary Celebrity under her roof, in whose society she passed the greater part of her leisure. These Meetings, which were principally held, not in the Capital, but at the Palace of Seaux, about four leagues South of Paris, continued to exist down to the Duchess du Maine's Decease, in 1753; and were attended by many of the persons of both Sexes, who afterwards formed the Circles at Madame du Deffand's, and at Mademoiselle l'Espinasse's Apartments. During the same period of Time, Madame de Tencin, Sister to the Cardinal of that name, one of the most captivating Women in France, the *Aspasia* of that Country, received at her Hotel, the "Gens de Lettres;" and may be said to have rivalled the Duchess du Maine, as the Protectress



of Taste and polite Knowledge. Madame de Tencin was Mother of d'Alembert, who owed his Birth to illicit Love.

No Meetings of a similar nature or description, appear to have existed in London, between the Restoration of Charles the Second in 1660, and the conclusion of the seventeenth Century, except the Society that met at the House of the famous Hortensia Mancini, Duchess de Mazarin, Niece to the Cardinal of that Name : who, from 1667, to the period of her Death in 1699, was accustomed to receive at her Apartments, the *Literati* of both sexes. St. Evrémond, an Exile, a Foreigner, and a Fugitive, like herself, constituted the principal support, and the ornament of these parties ; where the Chevalier de Grammont, so well known by the Memoirs published under his name, was likewise to be found. It is curious to remark, that the first “ Blue Stocking” Assemblies, and I believe, the only Meetings deserving that name, which have ever been held in London, down to those of which we have been speaking ; were set on foot by natives of France, expatriated and resident here. For, neither the letters, nor the writings of Addison, Gay,

Steele, Swift, or Pope, indicate that any such Meetings existed from 1700, down to the beginning of the present Reign. Lady Wortley Montagu, Lady Hervey, the Duchess of Queensberry, and various other females distinguished by their talents, no less than by their high rank, adorned that period of time; but they do not appear to have emulated the line which Mrs. Montague so successfully undertook, though they occasionally received in their Drawing-rooms, the Wits and Poets of the reigns of Queen Anne, of George the First, and George the Second. Foreigners have indeed with reason reproached the English, as too much attracted by the love of Play, to Clubs composed exclusively of Men, to be capable of relishing a mixed Society, where researches of Taste and Literature constitute the basis and the central point of union.

I quitted England in the Summer of 1777, and made some stay at the Hague, where I was presented by our Ambassador, Sir Joseph Yorke, to the Prince of Orange; with whom I afterwards had the honor to sup at "the Palace in the Wood," as well as to meet him in private Society. This Prince has be-

come so well known to us, since his precipitate retreat from Holland in the Winter of 1795, by his long residence in England, that it is unnecessary to enter into any minute details relative to his character and qualities. Even at the period to which I allude, he neither inspired public respect, nor excited private regard. His person, destitute of dignity, corresponded with his manners, which were shy, awkward, and altogether unfitted to his high situation as Stadtholder. If he displayed no glaring vices, he either did not, or could not, conceal many weaknesses, calculated to injure him in the estimation of mankind. A constitutional Somnolency, which increased with the progress of age, was too frequently accompanied by excesses still more injurious, or fatal to his reputation; I mean those of the Table, particularly of Wine. I have seen him at the Hague, of an Evening, in a large Company, at Sir Joseph Yorke's, in the situation that I here describe. In vigor, ability, or resources of mind, such as might enable him successfully to struggle, like William the Third, with difficult or tumultuous Times, he was utterly deficient. If William the Fifth had possessed the Energies of that great Prince, we should neither

have been engaged in War with Holland, as happened towards the close of 1780; nor would the Stadtholderate have been overturned in 1795, and the Seven Provinces, which successfully resisted all the power of Philip the Second, have ultimately sunk into an enslaved Province of the Corsican Ruler of France.

The two Brothers, John and Cornelius de Witt, became in every Sense as formidable Opponents to William the Third, in 1672, as Van Berkel and Neufville proved to his Successor, in the last Century: but, William the Fifth allowed the French Faction at Amsterdam, acting under the direction of Vergennes, to consolidate their strength, to conclude a Treaty with the American Insurgents, and to precipitate a rupture between the Dutch Commonwealth and England. His magnanimous Predecessor, though he had scarcely then attained to manhood, opposed and surmounted all the efforts of the Republican Party, sustained by Louis the Fourteenth, with a view to subject Holland to French Ambition. Van Berkel merited the Fate which unjustly befell the two de Witts, and only escaped Punishment by the

inert and incapable Conduct of the Stadtholder, who permitted the fairest opportunity to pass, for calling him to a public Account, as a violator of the laws of Nations, a disturber of the public Peace, and an enemy to his own Country. Relative to William the Fifth's personal Courage, no opinion can be formed, as it was never tried; but he possessed neither the activity, nor any of the endowments, fitted for the conduct of Armies. It must however be admitted that his Understanding was cultivated, his Memory very retentive, his Conversation, when unembarrassed, entertaining and even instructive, abounding with historical Information that displayed extensive acquaintance with polite letters; and that he joined to a fine Taste in the Arts, particularly in Painting, a generous protection of their Professors. In a period of repose, he might have been tolerated; but the Stadtholderate, at every time since its commencement in the person of William the First, and the original revolt of the Low Countries from Philip the Second, has demanded the greatest Energies in the individual who was placed at the head of the Dutch Commonwealth.

Nature, which rarely confers great or eminent qualities of Mind in hereditary Descent, seemed to have departed from that rule, in the House of Nassau-Orange; where she produced five Princes in succession, all of whom were conspicuous in a greater or a less degree, for courage, capacity, and the talents that insure or confirm political power. The five Roman Emperors, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines, who succeeded each other in Antiquity, were altogether unallied by ties of Consanguinity. Adoption alone, cemented by matrimonial Alliances, constituted the Connexion existing between them: and Commodus, whom we suppose to have been the Son of Marcus Aurelius, the last of those five Cæsars, was only distinguished by his crimes, or by his incapacity. William the First, and his two Sons, though by different Wives, Prince Maurice, and Frederic-Henry, who may be said to have successively occupied the Office of Stadtholder, or Captain-General of the United Provinces, during four-score years, from 1567 to 1647, without interruption; were three of the most illustrious Men whom we have seen in modern Ages. Even William the Second, though his end

was premature, and in some measure unfortunate, he having died in the Flower of Youth ; yet manifested no less strength of Character and vigor of Mind, than his three Predecessors. The whole existence of William the Third, from his twentieth Year down to the Time of his Dissolution, formed a perpetual display of fortitude, endurance, toil, and military, as well as civil Exertion. With him expired in 1702, the great line of Nassau-*Orange*. In 1747, the Dignity and Functions of Stadtholder, which had been suspended for five and forty years, were revived in the person of William the Fourth, Head of the Branch of Nassau-*Diët*z, collaterally related to the preceding race. However little favoured he might be by Nature in his bodily formation, which was very defective, resembling our popular Idea of Richard the Third ; and however moderately endowed with intellectual powers was William the Fourth, who married the Princess Anne, daughter of George the Second ; he at least maintained during the few years that he survived his elevation, an external dignity of Deportment, and an irreproachable moral Conduct. But, in the hands of William the Fifth his Son, may be said in every sense to

have become eclipsed, that great Office of Stadtholder, in itself only less than royal; and under able management, perhaps even more formidable than the kingly Dignity!

The reception of the late Prince of Orange by George the Third, when he sought refuge in this Country, from the French Invasion, early in 1795; was no less affectionate, hospitable, and cordial, than the Treatment which James the Second experienced in 1689, from Louis the Fourteenth. If James, justly expelled by his English subjects for Tyranny, political and religious, was lodged at the Castle of St. Germain, and treated with Royal Honors, by the French Monarch; William was equally placed in the Palace at Hampton Court. The Princes of the Royal Family, and the Nation at large, vied in demonstrations of respect, compassion, and attention towards him. The Princess of Orange, a Woman of a far more elevated, correct, and manly Character than her Husband, experienced as generous, and as kind a welcome, from the King and Queen of Great Britain, as Mary of Modena, the Consort of James, received in France. Of a stature exceeding the height of ordinary Wo-



men, she extremely resembled in her figure, the late King of Prussia, Frederic-William the Second, her Brother, who was cast by Nature in the same Colossal Mould. Fortune, which had persecuted her in Holland, did not prove more favourable to her in England. Her second son, Prince Frederic of Orange, a young man who excited the liveliest expectations, and gave promise of many virtues, had entered into the Austrian Service, after his father's expulsion from Holland. By his Mother he was regarded with peculiar predilection, as formed to support the Honor of the Houses of Nassau and of Brandenburg, from both which he equally descended. Exemplary in the discharge of all his military duties, to this principle his premature Death was to be attributed, which took place at Venice, in January, 1799; occasioned by a malignant distemper or fever, caught in consequence of visiting the sick Soldiers, confined in the Hospitals of that City.

His Britannic Majesty first read the account of it at the Queen's House, in one of the French Newspapers, on Thursday night, the 31st of January, 1799. Shocked at the

intelligence, and not being quite sure of its authenticity, he put the Newspaper in his pocket; and taking the Queen aside, communicated it to her with much concern. As the probabilities were greatly in favor of its truth, or rather, as no doubt could reasonably be entertained on the point, they agreed not to delay announcing it to the Prince and Princess of Orange; who might otherwise receive so melancholy a notification, through the channel of the English diurnal Publications, or even from common fame. This determination they executed on the following Day, at the Queen's House, where they detained the Prince and Princess for two or three Weeks, till the violence of the emotions occasioned by the loss of their Son, had subsided. Some faint hopes, indeed, were entertained during eight or ten Days after the arrival of the intelligence, that it might prove either premature or untrue. It was, however, soon fully confirmed. All mankind agreed that Prince Frederic eminently possessed Talents, Honor, and Courage. His unfortunate Father, after arriving in this Country under a dark political Cloud, and after residing here many years, without acquiring the public esteem, or redeeming his public character,

finally and precipitately quitted England under a still darker Cloud; only to bury himself in the obscurity of Germany, there to expire, forgotten, and almost unknown. Such has been the Destiny, in our Time, of the Representative of that August House, which, in the sixteenth Century, while it conducted the Armies of Holland, opposed and humbled Spain; and which, in the seventeenth Century, affixed limits to the Ambition of France, under Louis the Fourteenth! A Corsican Adventurer has since enslaved, plundered, and conscribed during many years, the Country, over whose Councils, Barnevelt, the two de Witts, and Heinsius, once presided; for which Van Tromp and Ruyter fought, conquered, and fell; and where the spirit of Freedom seemed to have animated every individual, when the Duke of Alva overran, and desolated those Provinces. It is in making these reflections on the modern Dutch, and contrasting their Conduct with the Heroism of their Ancestors, that we involuntarily exclaim with *Goldsmith*,

“ Gods! how unlike their Belgic Sires of old !”

At the time when I visited the Hague, in July, 1777, Prince Louis, one of the Brothers of the then reigning Duke of Brunswic

Wolfenbuttel, and Commander-in-chief of the Dutch Forces, enjoyed a much higher place in the public Consideration, than did the Stadtholder. I have rarely seen in the course of my life, a man of more enormous bodily Dimensions. William, Duke of Cumberland, son of George the Second, whose Corpulency was extreme, felt nevertheless far short of him in bulk. But, this prodigious mass of flesh, which it was natural to suppose, would enervate or enfeeble the powers of his Mind, seemed neither to have rendered him indolent or inactive. The strength of his Character, and the solidity of his Talents, while they supplied in some measure the defects of the Prince of Orange, animated and impelled the vast machine that he inhabited. Prince Louis manifested no Sottery when in Company; nor was he ever betrayed at Table, into excesses injurious to his reputation. On the Parade, and in his military Capacity, he displayed equal animation and professional knowledge. Attached to the interests of the House of Orange, and to those of Great Britain, he became naturally obnoxious to the French Faction in Holland; which powerful Party finally effected his removal from the post that he held in the service of the Re-

public, and compelled him to retire out of the Dutch Dominions, a few years later than the period of which I am speaking. He died, I believe, in 1768. His Dismission and Departure prepared the way for the Overthrow of the Stadtholderate, notwithstanding the temporary Triumph of the late Duke of Brunswic, and the Capture of Amsterdam, effected in the Summer of 1787, by the Prussian Forces.

His Brother, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, who commanded the allied Army with so much reputation, during the "Seven Years War," from 1757 down to 1763; and who occupied at that Time so distinguished a rank in the History of Europe; proved himself unquestionably an able General, and a good Tactician; but he was by no means endowed with superior Talents of any kind. In order to have secured the degree of Fame that he had acquired in the Field, it may be asserted that he ought not to have survived his last Campaign; precisely as Juvenal says of Marius, that he should have breathed his last, immediately after his Victory over the Cimbri,

"Cum de Teutonico vellet descendere Curru,"

For, Prince Ferdinand soon afterwards abandoned himself to the doctrines and reveries of the *Illuminés*; an Association of Men, who, it is well known, obtained such an ascendant about that time, in Germany. They reduced his Mind to a degree of imbecility which could only excite Compassion. It will hardly be believed that before the year 1773, he was so subjugated by them, as frequently to pass many Hours of the Night in Churchyards, engaged in evoking, and attempting to raise Apparitions. They practised successfully on his credulity, making him conceive that he beheld Spectres, or aerial Forms. These occupations, which afforded sufficient proofs of intellectual decline, having impelled the great Frederic, whose sound understanding despised the *Illuminés*, to dismiss Prince Ferdinand from his situation in the Prussian Service; or, as Thiebault asserts, in his "*Souvenirs de vingt Ans*," (which perhaps is more probable,) the King having liberated from Arrest an Officer whom the Prince had confined; he resigned. Which ever was the Fact, he then retired to Magdeburgh, of the Chapter of which secularized Archbishoprick, he was Dean, or Chief.

In that City he principally resided till the Time of his Decease, divested of any military Command, living in a sort of retreat; but, keeping a good Table, and receiving at Dinner, Strangers of Condition who visited Magdeburgh. His income, a considerable part of which consisted in a Pension from the Crown of Great Britain, enabled him to maintain an establishment becoming his rank. An intimate friend of mine, now, I regret, no more; who was about that time, Minister of England at the Court of Dresden, Mr. Osborn, being well acquainted with Prince Ferdinand, used frequently to dine with him. The Prince, who treated him with great regard, wishing to make a Proselyte of him, one day proposed that they should go together to a certain Church-yard, on that same night; promising him that a Ghost would infallibly appear to them. Mr. Osborn agreed to accept the proposal, and to accompany His Serene Highness to the scene of these supernatural exhibitions, provided that he would order six Grenadiers, their pieces loaded with Ball Cartridge, to attend them; and would enjoin the Grenadiers to fire upon whatever object might assume the appearance of a Ghost. But, the Prince by

no means relished the idea, and the party therefore did not take place. Of the accuracy of this Anecdote I can have no doubt, as it was related to me by Mr. Osborn himself, whose honor and veracity were indisputable. Prince Ferdinand continued till the period of his Death, in July, 1792, to be a Dupe and a Convert of the *Illuminés*.

Sir Joseph Yorke, afterwards created Lord Dover, maintained a distinguished rank among the Members of the Corps Diplomatique, in 1777, at the Hague. His Table, splendid and hospitable, was open to Strangers of every Country. Educated under Horace, Lord Walpole, and under the first Lord Hampden, his manners and address had in them something formal and ceremonious; but, the vigilance and ability which he displayed during above five-and-twenty years that he was Ambassador of England to the States-General, more than compensated for these defects of external Deportment. Never, perhaps, at any period of modern Time, except by Sir William Temple, under Charles the Second, were the Interests of Great Britain so zealously, yet temperately sustained, as by him; for whom the Stadt-



holder felt and expressed a sort of filial regard. In 1777, the English Sovereign and Nation still continued to preserve an Ascendancy in the Dutch Councils; till the augmenting Misfortunes, and accumulated Disgraces of the American War, which finally enabled France to obtain a predominating influence, compelled Lord North to recall Sir Joseph Yorke from the Hague.

With another of His Majesty's foreign Ministers, Mr. Wroughton, who became afterwards Sir Thomas Wroughton, I passed a considerable part of the Summer of 1778, in the Court and Capital of Poland. Warsaw, destined to become in more recent periods, the Theatre of Carnage and Revolution, then enjoyed a delusive Calm; while Austria, Saxony, and Prussia, were involved in war relative to the Bavarian Succession. Wroughton, at the Time of which I speak, was about forty-six. He had been very handsome in his youth; and though grown somewhat corpulent, still preserved many of the Graces, and much of the Activity, of that period of life. His Education, if it had not given him a very cultivated Mind, had completely fitted him for the world; and a residence of more

than twenty years at the two Courts of Poland and Russia, in a public Character, rendered his Conversation, upon all points connected with the History of the North of Europe, no less entertaining, than informing. From him I learned a number of curious facts respecting the two Russian Empresses, Elizabeth and Catherine; which, though they assuredly would have been transmitted to Posterity by *Brantome*, cannot, without violating Decorum, be commemorated in the present Age.

Sir Thomas Wroughton was sent, at three or four-and-twenty, to Petersburg, where he subsequently became British Consul, during the reign of the former of those Princesses. No man was better acquainted with her Character, as well as with the political Intrigues which distinguished the concluding years of Elizabeth's life. He assured me that she died a victim to her own excesses, and almost with a saucer of Cherry-brandy at her lips; it having been found impossible, by any injunctions of her Physicians, to prevent the female attendants about her person and Bed, from indulging her in this pernicious gratification. The last Princess of the Stuart line

who reigned in this Country, has been accused of a similar passion, if we may believe the Secret History of that Time, or trust to the Couplet which was affixed to the Pedestal of her Statue in front of St. Paul's, by the satirical Wits of 1714. The Empress Elizabeth's Amours were such as the Messalinas and Faustinas of Antiquity, are asserted to have carried on in the Capital of the Roman world, without delicacy, shame, or restraint. Suetonius might have found it difficult to relate, and Juvenal, as impossible to exaggerate, the particulars of Elizabeth's Gallantries.

Of Catherine, Sir Thomas Wroughton always spoke with admiration and respect, though with freedom. To her notice he was indeed greatly indebted for his elevation in life; she having been instrumental in procuring him the appointment of Consul to Petersburg. As he was in the flower of his age at that time, and of an imposing figure, he attracted her attention, and was honored by her with such distinguishing marks of predilection, as to draw upon him the resentment of the Grand Duke, her Husband; who, when he ascended the Throne, early in 1762, by the name of Peter the Third,

obtained during his short reign, Wroughton's removal from Russia. He was then sent, by orders from his own Court, to Dresden, as Minister to Augustus the Third, Elector of Saxony, in his capacity of King of Poland; and he accompanied or followed that Monarch from Saxony to Warsaw, in the last visit that Augustus made to his Polish Dominions. As Wroughton had become an object of Peter's unconcealed dislike or jealousy; and as Catherine had distinguished him by personal attentions of the most flattering nature; it was not an improbable supposition, that she might have carried to the utmost extent, her preference of him. But he always assured me, even in Moments of the greatest confidence and unreserve, that he had never violated for an instant, the limits of the most profound respect towards her; nor had ever received from her, encouragement for such Presumption on his part. "Count Poniatowski," said he, "was her Lover. I was only her humble Friend and Servant."

He told me, that the first time he ever heard the name of Orloff mentioned, or ever saw the Officer who afterwards became, as

Prince Orloff, the avowed Favourite of Catherine in every sense, was on the following occasion. Crossing the Court of the Winter Palace at Petersburg, some time during the year 1760, the Grand Duchess, who leaned on his arm, pointed out to him a young Man in the Uniform of the Russian Guards, then in the act of saluting her with his Spontoon; and added, "*Vous voyez ce beau jeune Homme. Le connoissez-vous?*" Wroughton replying in the negative, "*Il s'appelle Orloff,*" said Catherine; "*Croiriez-vous qu'il a eu la Hardiesse de me faire l'Amour?*" "*Il est bien hardi, Madame,*" answered he, smiling. The Conversation proceeded no further; but it remained deeply imprinted upon Wroughton's recollection, who from that Moment silently anticipated the future favor of Orloff. Sir Thomas Wroughton always spoke to me of Catherine's Participation or Acquiescence in the Death of Peter the Third, as involuntary, reluctant, and the Result of an insurmountable Necessity. He even considered her knowledge of the Destruction of the unfortunate Emperor Ivan, who was stabbed by his own Guards at Schlussembourg, in 1764, with a view to prevent his being liberated by Mirowitsch, as exceedingly pro-

blematical. But he believed, in common with all Poland, that Catherine had found means to entrap, and to transfer to Petersburg, the Princess Tarrakanoff, a Daughter of the Empress Elizabeth; where, as was asserted, she had perished in prison, by the waters of the River Neva entering the room in which she was confined. There can be no Doubt that Alexis Orloff, so well known in the Annals of Catherine's Reign, who then commanded the Russian Fleet in the Mediterranean; became on that occasion, the instrument of her vengeance, or rather of her apprehensions, by enticing on board his Ship, in the Port of Leghorn, the unhappy Female in question. This Accusation, sustained by many strong facts, and apparent proofs, narrated at great length, has since been submitted to the Tribunal of Europe, in "*La Vie de Catherine Seconde*," by Castera, published in 1797, soon after the Empress's Decease. Sir John Dick, who at the time of the supposed Princess's seizure by Alexis Orloff, was British Consul at Leghorn; is named in the Work to which I allude, as having been an Accomplice in the act of ensnaring, and carrying her off to the Russian Admiral's Ship. His Wife is likewise

charged with a participation in so foul a conspiracy.

I lived during several years, in habits of familiar acquaintance with Sir John Dick, who retained, at fourscore, all the activity of middle life, together with the perfect possession of his Memory and Faculties. He was an agreeable, entertaining, and well bred Man, who had seen much of the World. Dining in a large Company, at Mr. Thomas Hope's, in Berkeley Square, on Sunday, the 10th of February, 1799, I sat by Sir John Dick; and well knowing his intimacy with Alexis Orloff, I inquired of him, where the Count then was; "He is," answered Sir John Dick, "at present at Leipsic, from which place he wrote to me, only three Weeks ago. The Emperor Paul commanded him to travel, after having made him and Prince Baratinskoi, both of whom assisted in the termination of Peter the Third's life, assist likewise at the funeral ceremonies of that Prince. They held the Pall, and actually mounted guard over the Body, in the Church of the Citadel of Petersburg; remaining the whole night, with the Corpse. Alexis went through

“ this function with perfect Composure.” Encouraged by the frankness of this reply, I ventured to ask him, if he had read the Narrative of the Princess Tarrakanoff’s Seizure, related in “ *La Vie de Catherine Seconde* ?” “ I have certainly perused it,” said he, “ and not without some concern; as I am there accused by name, no less than my Wife, of having been a party to the act of transporting by violence, a young, unsuspecting, and innocent Princess, on board the Russian Fleet. I will relate to you, as a man of veracity, all the part that I took, and all I know, relative to the pretended Princess in question; who is there asserted to have been a Daughter of Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, by Alexis Razoumoffsky.

“ During the time that the Russian Squadron lay in the harbour of Leghorn, in 1771, Alexis Orloff, who was the Admiral, resided frequently, if not principally, at Pisa, where he hired a splendid House. One morning, about eleven o’clock, a Cossack, who was in his Service, and who acted as his Courier, arrived at my door; charged with a Message, to inform me that



“ his master, with some Company, in three  
“ Carriages, meant to dine with me on that  
“ Day. I accordingly ordered a Dinner to  
“ be prepared for his reception. When he  
“ arrived, he brought with him a Lady,  
“ whom he introduced to my Wife and to  
“ myself: but he never named her, only  
“ calling her, “ *Questa Dama.*” She was by  
“ no means handsome, though genteel in her  
“ figure; apparently, thirty years of Age;  
“ and had the air of a person who had suf-  
“ fered in her health. There seemed some-  
“ thing mysterious about her, which excited  
“ my Curiosity, but which I could not pene-  
“ trate. Considering her with attention, it  
“ struck me forcibly that I had seen her be-  
“ fore, and in England. Being determined,  
“ if possible, to satisfy myself on this point,  
“ as we stood leaning against the Chimney  
“ piece in my Drawing-room, before Dinner,  
“ I said to her, “ I believe, Ma’am, you  
“ speak English.” “ I speak only one little,”  
“ answered she. We sat down to Dinner,  
“ and after the repast, Alexis Orloff pro-  
“ posed to my Wife, and to another Lady  
“ who was there present, to accompany him  
“ and the female stranger, on board his Ship.  
“ They both declining it, Orloff took her

“ with him in the Evening. The Boom, or  
“ Chain, was then stretched across the Har-  
“ bour: but a Boat came from the Russian  
“ Admiral’s Ship, into which he put the  
“ Lady, and accompanied her, himself, safe  
“ on board.

“ On the ensuing Morning, when Orloff  
“ came on shore, he proceeded to my House.  
“ His Eyes were violently inflamed, and his  
“ whole Countenance betrayed much agita-  
“ tion. Without explaining to me the cause  
“ or the reason of this Disorder, he owned  
“ that he had passed a very unpleasant  
“ Night; and he requested me to let him  
“ have some of the most amusing Books in  
“ my Library, in order to divert the Lady who  
“ was on board his Ship. I never saw her  
“ again: but, I know that soon afterwards,  
“ she was sent by Alexis, in a Frigate, to  
“ Cronstadt; where, without being ever land-  
“ ed, she was transferred up the Neva, to  
“ the Fortress of Schlusselfbourg, at the  
“ mouth of the lake Ladoga. Catherine  
“ there confined her, in the very room that  
“ Peter the Third had caused to be con-  
“ structed, with intent to shut up herself in  
“ it. The Lady unquestionably died in that

“ Prison, of Chagrin; but she was not drown-  
“ ed by the water of the Neva coming into  
“ her Apartment, as is asserted in “ *La Vie*  
“ *de Catherine Seconde.*”

“ Having stated to you,” continued Sir  
John Dick, “ these Circumstances, I will now  
“ inform you, who, and of what description,  
“ was the lady in question. Far from being,  
“ as is pretended, a Daughter of Elizabeth,  
“ Empress of Russia, her father was a Baker  
“ of Nuremberg in Franconia. If, on this  
“ point, my Testimony should appear to you  
“ doubtful or suspicious, the present Mar-  
“ grave of Anspach, who is in this Country,  
“ and who knew her well, is ready to testify  
“ the same fact. She was a Woman of plea-  
“ sure, during a short time, both in Paris,  
“ and here in London; at which last men-  
“ tioned City, she had picked up a few  
“ Words of English. Prince Nicholas Rad-  
“ zivil, who was driven out of Poland by  
“ the Russians, having met with her, made  
“ her his Mistress, and carried her with him  
“ into Italy. In order to revenge himself on  
“ Catherine, who had expelled him from his  
“ native Country, and confiscated his im-  
“ mense Estates in Lithuania, he resolved

“ on calling her the Princess Tarrakanoff,  
“ pretending that she was Elizabeth’s Daugh-  
“ ter. Such she was in fact considered to  
“ be by many who saw her; and the report  
“ acquiring strength, soon reached Peters-  
“ burgh. Catherine, naturally alarmed at  
“ the existence of a Female Pretender, who  
“ might lay claim to the very Throne of Rus-  
“ sia; and being informed that Prince Rad-  
“ zivil asserted her right to the Empire, as  
“ a legitimate Daughter of Elizabeth by  
“ Razoumoffsky, to whom she had been  
“ secretly married; thought that not a Mo-  
“ ment was to be lost, in securing the person  
“ of so dangerous a rival. She issued private  
“ Orders therefore to Alexis Orloff, enjoining  
“ him to gain possession of the pretended  
“ Princess, at all events, and by every pos-  
“ sible means, either of money, or of violence.  
“ To so great a height did the Empress’s  
“ Apprehensions rise, that Orloff avowed to  
“ me, he had received the positive commands  
“ of her Majesty, to pursue her even to  
“ Ragusa, if necessary; where it was un-  
“ derstood she had retired; to demand her  
“ from the Government of that small Repub-  
“ lic; and if they should refuse to give her  
“ up, to bombard the City, and to lay it in

“Ashes. But, Alexis found means to entrap, or to entice her, without either disturbance or hostility. He treated her as his Mistress, while he resided at Pisa, and while she lay on board his Ship at Leghorn. These are all the Particulars that I know relative to her, and all the share that I had in her Detention, or her Misfortunes.”

It is probable that this recital, however natural and plausible it may appear, or however true it may be in point of fact, will nevertheless by no means carry conviction to every mind. I confess, that it neither produced that Sentiment in me, at the time when Sir John Dick related it; nor, on the fullest consideration, am I thoroughly persuaded that the Person in question, was not the Daughter of Elizabeth. It seems to be universally admitted, and I have always been so assured, that the Empress did privately espouse Razoumoffsky; that she had by him, between the years 1740 and 1745, various children; one of whom was brought up, and called the Princess or Countess Tarakanoff. Prince Radzivil might, as is asserted in “*La Vie de Catherine Seconde*,” have contrived means to carry her off; and

after accompanying her to Rome, might there have quitted or deserted her. It is unquestionable, even by Sir John Dick's Account; that Catherine dreaded her; and that Orloff, by her Orders, decoyed, ensnared, and made himself master of the person of this unfortunate Female. But, that in order to effect his base and barbarous Purpose, Orloff actually married her, or pretended so to do; that she passed *several Days* under Sir John Dick's roof, in amusement and dissipation; that "the Consul, his Wife, and the Wife of "Rear Admiral Greig, took their seats by "her in the Barge, which conveyed her on "board the Russian Squadron;" finally, that a British Consul would dishonor himself, his Sovereign, and his Nation, by openly facilitating so perfidious an Act;—all these Assertions of Castéra, and many others relative to her treatment on board Orloff's Ship, appear to me wholly undeserving of credit. They are, indeed, completely disproved by Sir John Dick's Narrative to me, unless we suppose him utterly devoid of Truth and Honor. On the other hand, that he should have remained silent under such a Charge, made in the face of all Europe, without attempting to repel, or to disprove it, in as public a man-

ner, as it was brought forward; seems almost like a negative admission of its Veracity. His denial of the Accusation, given in private Conversation to me, could not redeem his Character to the World at large. Sir John, we may likewise remember, lay under personal Obligations to Catherine the Second, who had conferred on him one of the Russian Orders of Knighthood; and from his Connexion with whom, while Orloff lay at Leghorn with her Fleet, he had derived great pecuniary Advantages. The manner in which Alexis treated him, by bringing to his House a Stranger, without previously soliciting Permission; whom he never announced to Sir John, or to his Wife, by name; and with whom he lived as his Mistress;—these Facts seem to imply great subservience on the part of the British Consul; and will probably induce us to pause, before we give implicit belief to his Assertions. I leave, however, the decision on this point, to every man's own Opinion.

But, was the Lady in question, the Daughter of Elizabeth, or not? It seems to me impossible, for want of Evidence, to reply satisfactorily to the question. I confess however,

that I think it more probable She should have been, as Sir John Dick asserted, a German Woman, whom Prince Radzivil had instructed, or induced, to assume the Name and Title of Princess Tarrakanoff. It is even very difficult altogether to condemn the Empress Catherine, for endeavouring to get possession of her person. For, had She passed over to Ragusa, and from thence into the Ottoman Dominions, she would have been, when once in the hands of the Turks, with whom Russia was at war, a most dangerous Competitor to the Throne. We must recollect, that Catherine herself had attained the Imperial Dignity by a Revolution, and the consequent Destruction of her Husband, without any right of Descent. To *Her*, an Impostress was nearly as formidable, as a rightful Pretender to the Crown. The History of the false Demetrius, in the Beginning of the seventeenth Century, so famous in the Muscovite Annals, might justly inspire her with apprehension. Similar Scenes might be renewed under her own Reign, in the interior of that vast Empire. Pugatcheff had long been considered, by a great part of the Russian People, as the Emperor Peter the Third. These Considerations must, at least in a political point of view,



justify Catherine for taking measures to prevent the Lady in question, from being made an instrument in the hands of vindictive or ambitious individuals, to accomplish their projects of Vengeance against herself. In the eyes of Morality and of Humanity, the whole Reign and Administration of that Empress, however brilliant and imposing it may appear through the medium of Voltaire's, or of the Prince de Ligne's Writings, cannot bear a close Examination, or support a severe Scrutiny.

The first Grand Duchess of Russia, Wilhelmina, Princess of Hesse Darmstadt, who, on her Marriage with the Grand Duke Paul, assumed the Name of Natalia Alexiewna; perished, like the pretended Princess Tarakanoff, in the Prime of Life, and under Circumstances that excited at the Time, much Commiseration. I have seen the Grand Duchess in question, at the Drawing-room at the Palace of Peterhoff, in 1774, soon after her Marriage. She had been chosen in preference to two of her Sisters, who accompanied her on the Journey from Germany to Russia. Those Princesses must have been very deficient in personal Attractions, if Paul's

Selection resulted from her superiority in that respect, above her Sisters. I have rarely beheld a young person less favored by Nature. She had a scorbutic Humor in her face, nor did her Countenance indicate either intelligence or dignity; but she was said to be amiable and pleasing in her Manners. To the great Joy of Catherine, as well as of the Empire at large, which anxiously expected the Birth of an Heir, she became pregnant in 1775. That she died about two Years subsequent to her Marriage, during the Confinement incident to her Accouchement, is certain; but, the precise Nature of her Death is not well ascertained, and produced various Reports, some of which were injurious to the Empress's Reputation. I have, myself, heard them, while I resided at Vienna, from Persons of the highest Distinction, particularly from two Princes of Hesse Philipstahl, within three or four Years after the Grand Duchess's Decease: but, I believe that they were not entitled to Credit. It was likewise generally asserted that the Princess in question had formed a strong Attachment for one of the handsomest, as well as most accomplished young Noblemen about the Court of Petersburg, with whom

she had entered into a Correspondence of a delicate Description. The Circumstance becoming known to Paul, occasioned Him no ordinary Uneasiness. A Fact which seemed to give Probability to the Story, is that the Nobleman himself to whom I allude, was then resident at Vienna; to which City he had been sent, as common Fame affirmed, by Catherine, on the complaints of her Son, immediately after the Death of the unfortunate Princess in question. I knew him very familiarly, while at Vienna. He since filled the post of Envoy from the Empress of Russia, at an Italian Court; where he was believed to have carried his Temerity, and his Success, even higher than he had done at Petersburg. Few Men whom I have ever seen or known, were more formed by Nature to be beloved by Women. His Figure was advantageous; his Manners, though lofty, yet were gay and captivating, whenever he desired to conciliate good-will; and his Countenance, which somewhat resembled that of a Calmuck, had in it nevertheless, an air of great Distinction, Spirit, and Intelligence. He had served in the Russian Fleet, under Alexis Orloff; was present at the memorable Victory of Tschismé, on the coast of Natolia, in 1770, where

the Turkish Squadron in that Bay was destroyed ; and had acquired, under Admirals Elphinstone and Greig, not only a knowledge of naval Tactics, but of the English language likewise, which he spoke with admirable ease and fluency. The secret History of the Imperial Family of Russia, from the Reign of Peter the First inclusive, down to the present Time, has already furnished, and will, as it gradually becomes known, continue to afford, Matter of the most curious, as well as interesting Nature. When we reflect that three Emperors, Peter, Ivan, and Paul, have successively perished by violent Means, within little more than half a Century ; and when we consider that this stupendous Empire, embracing so vast a Portion of the Globe, has been governed almost exclusively by Women, from the Year 1725, down to 1796, including a Space of more than seventy Years ;—lastly, when we recollect that of the four Females who have successively swayed the Sceptre of Peter the Great, two, namely, Catherine the First and Second, were Germans or Livonians, unconnected except by Marriage, with the ancient Czars or Sovereigns of Muscovy ;—when we contemplate these Facts, we cannot be sur-

prized if this Asiatic Empire, newly assimilated to our European Monarchies and States, should present Scenes altogether unlike the Manners of London, Paris, or Vienna.

After the Death of the Grand Duchess, Catherine was at least determined to lose no time in providing for her Son a second Wife. For this purpose, she applied, almost immediately subsequent to the Decease of the unfortunate Natalia Alexiewna, to the great Frederic, King of Prussia, requesting him to select for Paul, a German Princess, to supply the vacancy occasioned in the imperial Family. She even sketched out with her own Hand, the prominent qualities of person and of mind, which she considered as principally requisite in the object of his Choice. This delicate Commission Frederic executed with great Ability; and, having fully ascertained the ground, he recommended the Princess Sophia of Wirtemberg to the Empress, for her future Daughter-in-law. It was perhaps impossible to have made a more judicious Selection for such a dangerous Eminence, which frequently conducted to a Convent, to Siberia, or to a Grave. She was not quite seventeen years of Age; and she

possessed, besides the Graces of youth, personal Attractions, well calculated to retain the Grand Duke's Affections. Her Understanding, solid, and her Deportment, blameless, secured universal Esteem ; while, at the same time, she neither displayed such Talents, energy of Character, or Ambition, as could render her an object of Catherine's Apprehension. Paul, accompanied by Marshal Romanzoff, whose Victories over the Turks have rendered him so justly celebrated, was sent by Catherine, in 1776, to Berlin ; where Frederic, after contributing to procure him a Wife, entertained him at Potzdam, in the most splendid manner.

At one of these Entertainments, given, if I recollect right, in the new Palace near *Sans Souci* ; in the midst of the Dinner, a large piece of the Ceiling fell down on the Table, involving the room and the Company in dust, confusion, and astonishment : not unlike the Accident which Fundanius relates as happening at Nasidienus's Supper. The King, with admirable presence of mind, instantly throwing his Arms round Paul, who sat next him, held the Grand Duke closely embraced, without suffering him to stir, till the Cause,

as well as the Consequences of the Disaster, were ascertained. When it was discovered to have arisen only from a defect in the plaister of the Ceiling, and to have been altogether casual, a Courier was immediately dispatched to Petersburg, stating the particulars to Catherine; assuring her at the same time, that her Son was in perfect safety. We cannot help admiring the quickness of Frederic's perception, which, ignorant as he was from what cause so unusual and alarming an Event originated, led him, without a Moment's delay, to participate the Danger and the Misfortune, if such existed, with the Grand Duke. In fact, they must have perished together, if they perished at all. The malignity of Mankind would unquestionably have suspected or attributed Treachery of some kind, had any fatal Accident, in which the King was not enveloped, befallen his Guest. Frederic, by his promptitude, obviated the possibility of misrepresentation, either at Petersburg, or in any other of the Courts of Europe.

During the first ten or fifteen years of the Reign of Catherine the Second, it was commonly believed; and in Poland, where Men

ventured to state their Opinions in Conversation, with more freedom than they dared to do in Russia, I have heard it often maintained in private Society; that the Grand Duke Paul would, sooner or later, disappear, as Peter the Third did in 1762, and as the unfortunate Emperor Ivan did in 1764. If Catherine had dreaded her Son, such an Event might have been not impossible: but she knew him, and did not fear him. The strongest mark of her superiority to all apprehension from his machinations, or efforts to ascend the Russian Throne before his time, was the permission which she gave him to travel over Germany, France, and Italy. Peter the First never extended such a Degree of Emancipation to his Son, the Czarowitz Alexis. Paul was accompanied on his Tour, by the Grand Duchess, for whom he then manifested the utmost fondness; though the testimonies which he gave her of his affection, were not always regulated by delicacy or propriety. Sir William Hamilton told me, that when Paul arrived at Naples in 1782, he had the honor to accompany the Grand Duke and Duchess, on their Excursions round that City; in Order to view Portici, Pompeii, and the other



principal objects of Curiosity visited by Travellers. "The first time," said Sir William, "that I was with them in a Coach, we had not proceeded far, when Paul, as if unconscious that I was present, throwing his Arms about the Grand Duchess, began to kiss her with as much warmth, as he could have shewn if they had been alone, and newly married. I was somewhat embarrassed at this unusual display of matrimonial Attachment, hardly knowing which way to direct my view; for there was no other person with us in the Carriage: and as I sat opposite to their Imperial Highnesses, I could not easily avoid seeing all that passed, though I affected to look through the glass, at the objects without. At length, the Grand Duke addressing himself to me, said, '*Monsieur Le Chevalier, J'aime beaucoup ma Femme.*' It was impossible not to credit the Assertion, after the proofs which he had just exhibited. But we had not proceeded a Mile further, when he recommenced the same demonstrations of Attachment, which he repeated many times before we arrived at Portici: usually observing to me, each time, '*Vous voyez que J'aime beaucoup*

"*ma Femme.*" I could only express my satisfaction at his Felicity, concealing my astonishment at the Testimonies of it which "I had witnessed." It would have been happy for this violent and infatuated Prince, if he had never ascended the Russian Throne, but had always continued in the state of political Annihilation to which his Mother had reduced him, and in which she retained him to the end of her life.

The pretended Princess Tarrakanoff, and the first Grand Duchess of Russia, were not the only Females of high rank, who expired by a premature Death, under Catherine's Reign. Augusta Caroline, eldest Daughter of the late celebrated Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbittel, who fell at Auërstadt in 1806, is supposed to have perished in a manner equally mysterious. This Princess, who was born towards the end of the year 1764; before she attained the Age of sixteen, was married to the Prince of Wirtemberg, since elevated by Bonaparte to the Dignity of a King. He was then about twenty-six years old, and might be considered as eventual presumptive Heir to his Uncle, the reigning Duke of Wirtemberg, Charles Eugene, who

had no Issue. When I was at the Court of Brunswic, in the Autumn of 1777, at which time the Princess was near thirteen, I saw her more than once, in the Apartments of her Mother. She had a very fair Complexion, light Hair, pleasing Features, and an interesting Figure. Some years after her Marriage, she accompanied the Prince her Husband into Russia, when he entered into the military Service of that Crown; to the Heir of which, as has been already stated, his Sister was married. They resided during some time at Petersburg, or in other parts of the Russian Empire; but in 1787 he quitted Catherine's Service and Dominions; leaving his Wife behind, of whose conduct, it was asserted, he had great reason to complain. They had then three Children living, two Sons and a Daughter, whom the Empress permitted him to take away, when he withdrew from her Employ; but she retained the Princess under her own Protection. At the end of a year or two, it was notified to the Prince of Wirtemberg, as well as to the Duke of Brunswic, by order of the Empress, that the Consort of the one, and the Daughter of the other, was no more. The Duke, her Father, immediately demanded in the

most pressing terms, that her Body might be delivered up to him: but this request was never granted, nor did he even receive any such authentic proofs of her Decease, and still less of the Circumstances attending it, as could satisfy him on the subject. Doubts were not only entertained whether she died a natural Death, but it remained questionable whether she did not still survive, and was not existing in Siberia; or in the Polar Deserts; like many other illustrious Exiles of her own Family, who had been banished thither by the Empress Elizabeth, when she ascended the Throne in 1741, on the Deposition of Ivan.

In May, 1797, the Princess Royal of England was married to the Prince of Wirtemberg; who, before the conclusion of that year, became Duke, by the decease of Frederic Eugene his Father. Early in the Summer of 1798, a Gentleman conversing with me on the subject of the first Princess of Wirtemberg's Death, assured me that he had seen and perused all the papers relative to her Imprisonment and Decease; which, at the desire of the Prince himself, and by his Authority, had been transmitted to George the

Third; who, after a full inspection of them, became perfectly convinced of his having had no part, direct or indirect, in that dark and melancholy Transaction.

“Frederic William, reigning Duke of Wirtemberg,” said he, “entered when young, as is well known, into the Prussian Service. Old Frederic liked and distinguished him. Wishing to attach him to the House of Brandenburg by permanent ties, and considering him as a man of promising Abilities, the King himself set on foot, and finally concluded his Marriage with the eldest Daughter of his own favorite Nephew and General, the Duke of Brunswic. This Event took place in 1780. About five years afterwards, Frederic being disposed to form a second Alliance with the Family of Wirtemberg, by marrying his great Nephew, the present King of Prussia, as soon as his age would allow, with the Princess Elizabeth, Sister to the Prince; dispatched him to Petersburg for that purpose. His Instructions were, to apply to his Sister the Grand Duchess, for the exertion of her influence at the Court of Stutgard, in order to prevail on

“ the Duke to promise his Niece to the  
“ eventual Heir of the Prussian Monarchy.  
“ This Negotiation was however rendered  
“ unsuccessful, by the demand which the  
“ Emperor Joseph the Second made about  
“ the same time, of the Princess Elizabeth  
“ of Wirtemberg, for his Nephew, Francis,  
“ hereditary Prince of Tuscany, now Em-  
“ peror of Austria; a Marriage which was  
“ actually accomplished early in 1788.

“ When the Prince of Wirtemberg arrived  
“ in the Capital of the Russian Empire, this  
“ Austrian Alliance was already settled; or  
“ at least, was too far advanced in its Pro-  
“ gress, to be overturned by his interference.  
“ After making therefore every effort in his  
“ power, through the Grand Duchess, to  
“ prevent its Accomplishment; and finding  
“ these Exertions fruitless, he returned to  
“ Potzdam. Whether Frederic suspected  
“ any duplicity or insincerity on his part;  
“ or, whether it was the result merely of  
“ Disappointment; it is certain that he re-  
“ ceived the Prince very coldly: and the  
“ Empress of Russia having soon afterwards  
“ invited him into her Service, he quitted  
“ that of Prussia, and revisited Petersburg.

“ She employed him in the war that began in  
“ 1787 against the Turks ; and he command-  
“ ed one of the three Armies which took  
“ the field. The Van, consisting of forty  
“ thousand Men, was entrusted to him. He  
“ is said to have displayed great military Ta-  
“ lent, to have distinguished himself much,  
“ and to have rendered essential Services to  
“ Catherine.

“ At the time that he entered the Russian  
“ Service, he carried the Princess his Wife  
“ with him to Petersburgh, as well as the two  
“ Sons and Daughter which she had brought  
“ him. Being in the flower of her youth,  
“ endowed with many amiable qualities of  
“ mind and of deportment, she soon became  
“ a Favorite of Catherine ; in whose Society  
“ and intimate Confidence she occupied a  
“ distinguished place. It can hardly how-  
“ ever excite Astonishment, that such an in-  
“ tercourse should have been calculated to  
“ corrupt her Morals. The Court and Pa-  
“ lace of the Empress, were Scenes of dissi-  
“ pation and licentiousness. Yet, when the  
“ Prince went to serve against the Turks, he,  
“ of necessity, left his Wife exposed to all  
“ these Temptations. In effect, during his

“ absence, she conducted herself so impru-  
“ dently, that when he returned, after the  
“ Conclusion of the Campaign, to Peters-  
“ burgh, he found himself compelled to  
“ adopt some strong Measures respecting  
“ her. Being placed in this painful situa-  
“ tion, he wrote to her Father, the Duke of  
“ Brunswic, informing him of his Daughter’s  
“ misconduct, and consulting him on the  
“ mode of action proper to be pursued under  
“ those Circumstances. It was agreed be-  
“ tween them, that as a preliminary step,  
“ she should be removed out of Russia; and  
“ the Prince accordingly demanded Cathe-  
“ rine’s permission to quit her Dominions,  
“ together with his Wife and his family. The  
“ Empress allowed him to retire, and to take  
“ with him his Children; but she perempto-  
“ rily refused to permit him to carry his  
“ Consort back to Germany. All remon-  
“ strance proving vain, the Princess there-  
“ fore remained behind, and he quitted  
“ Petersburg, with his sons and daughter,  
“ to return to Wirtemberg.

“ About a fortnight after his Departure,  
“ the Princess, without any reason assigned,  
“ was sent by Order of Catherine, to the



“ Castle of Lhode, about two hundred Miles  
“ from Petersburg; but, in what part or  
“ Province of that vast Empire, I am unable  
“ to assert. There, it seems, under close  
“ Confinement, she remained about eighteen  
“ Months: but, all her German Attendants,  
“ male and female, were withdrawn from her.  
“ At the end of that time, the Prince re-  
“ ceived letters from the Empress, informing  
“ him that his wife was dead of a *Hemor-*  
“ *rhage*. Similar Information was conveyed  
“ by Catherine, to the Duke of Brunswic,  
“ the unfortunate Princess's Father. No Par-  
“ ticulars were stated; nor, as far as appears,  
“ were any other Circumstances ever known  
“ respecting her. Thus situated, the Duke  
“ of Brunswic, conscious that he could nei-  
“ ther bring his Daughter to life, nor call the  
“ Empress to account, acquiesced patiently  
“ in the Calamity: but, during some years,  
“ he did not communicate to the Duchess his  
“ Wife, the intelligence of her Daughter's  
“ Death. She therefore remaining in igno-  
“ rance of the Catastrophe, continued to be-  
“ lieve that the Princess was still confined at  
“ Lhode, or existing somewhere in the De-  
“ serts of Russia. The Duchess used even  
“ to speak of her, as being alive in Siberia;

“ and this fact will account for the universality of the report.”

If the Account given me by Sir John Dick, relative to the supposed Princess Tarrakanoff, left many Circumstances obscure and unexplained in the history of that Female; it must be owned that, after considering this Narrative, no less uncertainty still pervades the story of the Princess of Wirtemberg. It is natural to ask, why did Catherine cause the Princess to be imprisoned? Her Gallantries, however culpable or notorious they might be, yet constituted no Crime against the Empress of Russia; who exhibited in her own Conduct, an example of emancipation from all restraint and decorum on the article of female irregularities of Deportment. It was the Prince her Husband, whom she had dishonoured and incensed. What proof is adduced, except assertion, that he did not know of the intentions of Catherine to confine and banish her? In the case of the two Emperors, Peter the Third, and Ivan; as well as in the instance of the pretended Princess Tarrakanoff; the motives which might impel Her to deprive them of life, are obvious. But, none such appear in the in-

stance before us. There are, moreover, other Particulars which may lead us to hesitate in forming a decisive Opinion on the subject. The Death of the Princess of Wirtemberg at Lhode, was announced and stated in all the German Almanacks, printed by Authority, to have taken place on "the 27th September, 1788." Her Husband remained a Widower, near eight years after that event, before he aspired to the Hand of the Princess Royal of Great Britain. During so long a period of time, he seems to have adopted no Measures for repelling the calumnious reports circulated all over Europe; reports which, however false, (and such I esteem them to have been,) yet had made the most unfavourable impression, even in England. George the Third became indeed perfectly convinced of his innocence, before he consented to the union of the Prince with his eldest Daughter. But, though the King yielded to the undeniable proofs brought upon this point, yet, from paternal Fondness or Solicitude, he did it with reluctance. So far, indeed, was he from pushing forward the Alliance, that I know from good Authority, he offered the Princess, after all the Preliminaries were adjusted, and the Marriage was fixed, to

break it off, if she chose to decline it; taking on himself personally, the whole responsibility of its failure. Over the precise nature of the first Princess of Wirtemberg's Illness and Death, a deep or impenetrable Veil is drawn. We must leave it to Time to unfold, if it does not rather remain, as is more probable, for ever problematical.

Before I quit this subject, I cannot help remarking, that during the course of the eighteenth Century, the Family of Brunswic, in its different Branches, produced no less than five Princesses, who exhibited in succession, the most conspicuous examples of human Infelicity. The first of them was Sophia of Brunswic *Zell*, married to George the First; who, for her alledged, but unproved Gallantries with Count Konigsmark, was confined during near forty years, at the sequestered Seat or Castle of Ahlden, in the Electorate of Hanover, where she expired in 1726. Charlotte-Christina of Brunswic • *Blanchenberg*, who espoused in 1711, the Czarowitz Alexia, only son of Peter the Great; a Princess endowed by Nature with almost every amiable and estimable quality of Body and of Mind; equally beautiful and

virtuous ; fell a Victim, in the flower of her youth, to the ferocious Treatment that she experienced from her Husband. She died at Petersburg, in Child-bed, at twenty-one years of age, in 1715 ; or at least, She disappeared :—for her Death has been contested in the strongest manner : lamented by the whole Empire, except by Alexis, whose brutal Character rendered him incapable of appreciating her value. Brunswic *Wolfenbuttel* furnished the next Instance, in the person of Elizabeth, married in 1765, to the late King of Prussia, then only Prince Royal ; divorced four years afterwards, for her Irregularities ; confined at Stettin, where I have seen her in 1774 ; and relative to whose private History I could state from high Authority, the most minute, as well as curious Particulars, if I were not restrained by Motives of Respect and Delicacy towards the illustrious Persons who are connected with Her by Descent, or by Alliance. I believe She still survives, forgotten and unknown, in some part of the Prussian Dominions ; after having witnessed the temporary Subversion of her own House, and the Calamities inflicted on that of Brandenburg, by Bonaparte. Caroline Matilda of Brunswic *Lue*

*nenburgh*, posthumous Daughter of Frederic, late Prince of Wales, and sister of George the Third, is the Fourth in this Enumeration. To Her I had the Honor of being well known, have dined frequently at her Table, and was employed by Her during the Year preceding her Decease, in conducting Negotiations of the deepest Importance to her future Greatness, as well as Felicity. Banned by a Revolution, from Denmark, in 1772, effected in the name of Christian the Seventh, her imbecile Husband; She only survived it about three years, terminating her short Career, in the prime of life, at Zell, in 1775. Augusta Caroline of Brunswic *Wolfenbittel*, whose melancholy History, and whose ambiguous End, we have been surveying, continues, but does not terminate the List. It must be esteemed singular, that in the lapse of scarcely a hundred years, such a Fatality should seem to have marked, and still to pursue, so many Females of that illustrious Family.

In the Autumn of 1778, I visited Dresden for the second time: a Court which was rendered peculiarly agreeable to the English at that period, by the hospitality and polished

Manners of His Majesty's Minister to Saxony, Sir John Stepney; one of the finest Gentlemen who have been employed on foreign Missions, during the course of the present Reign. Dresden was then a place where the *Illuminés* had made a deep and general impression on the public Mind; Schrepfer having chosen it, only a few years earlier, for the scene of his famous Exhibition of the Apparition of the Chevalier de Saxe. Having given in a former work, some account of that extraordinary Imposition, I shall not resume the subject here; but I cannot help relating another somewhat similar Story, which was told me during my residence in Dresden, by the Count de Felkesheim. He was a Livonian Gentleman, settled in Saxony, of a very improved Understanding, equally superior to Credulity, as to Superstition. Being together on an Excursion of Pleasure, in the Month of October, 1778, and our Discourse accidentally turning on the Character and Performances of Schrepfer; "I have conversed," said he to me, "with several of the " Individuals who were present at the Scene " of the Spectre or Phantom, presented by " him in the Gallery of the Palace of the " Duke of Courland. They all agreed in

“ their account of the leading particulars.  
“ Though I do not pretend to explain by  
“ what process or Machinery, that Business  
“ was conducted, I have always considered  
“ him as an artful Impostor, and his audience  
“ as Dupes. Yet am I not so decidedly sceptical on the possibility of supernatural Appearances, as to treat them with ridicule, because they may seem to be unphilosophical. I received my Education in the University of Königsberg, where I enjoyed the advantage of attending Lectures in Ethics and Moral Philosophy, delivered by a Professor who was esteemed a very superior man in those Branches of Science. He had, nevertheless, though an Ecclesiastic, the reputation of being tinctured with incredulity on various points connected with revealed Religion. When therefore it became necessary for him, in the course of his Lectures, to treat on the nature of Spirit, as detached from Matter; to discuss the Immortality of the Soul; and to enter on the Doctrine of a Future State; I listened with more than ordinary attention, to his Opinions. In speaking of all these mysterious Subjects, there appeared to me to be so visible an embar-



“rassment, both in his language and his expressions, that I felt the strongest Curiosity to question him further respecting them. Finding myself alone with him soon afterwards, I ventured to state to him my remarks on his Department, and I entreated him to tell me if they were well founded, or only imaginary Suggestions.”

“The Hesitation which you noticed,” answered he, “resulted from the conflict that takes place within me, when I am attempting to convey my ideas on a subject, where my understanding is at variance with the testimony of my senses. I am, equally from reason and reflection, disposed to consider with incredulity and contempt, the existence of Apparitions. But, an Appearance which I have witnessed with my own Eyes, as far as they, or any of the perceptions can be confided in; and which has even received a sort of subsequent confirmation, from other circumstances connected with the original fact, leaves me in that state of Scepticism and Suspense which pervaded my Discourse. I will communicate to you its cause. Having been brought up to the Profession of the

“ Church, I was presented by Frederic William the First, late King of Prussia, to a small Benefice situated in the interior of the Country, at a considerable distance South of Konigsberg. I repaired thither, in order to take possession of my Living; and found a very neat Parsonage House, where I passed the Night in the Bed-chamber which had been occupied by my predecessor. It was in the longest Days of Summer; and on the following Morning, which was Sunday, while lying awake, the Curtains of the Bed being undrawn, and it being broad day-light, I beheld the figure of a Man, habited in a sort of loose Gown, standing at a reading Desk, on which lay a large Book, the leaves of which he appeared to turn over at intervals. On each side of him stood a little Boy, in whose faces he looked earnestly from time to time; and as he looked, he seemed always to heave a deep Sigh. His Countenance, pale and disconsolate, indicated severe distress of mind. I had the most perfect view of these Objects; but, being impressed with too much terror and apprehension to rise, or to address myself to the appearances before me, I remained

“ for some Minutes, a silent and breathless  
“ Spectator, without uttering a word, or al-  
“ tering my position. At length, the Man  
“ closed the Book, and then taking the two  
“ Children, one in each Hand, he led them  
“ slowly across the room ; my Eyes eagerly  
“ following him, till the three figures gradu-  
“ ally disappeared, or were lost behind an  
“ iron Stove, which stood at the farthest  
“ Corner of the Apartment.

“ However deeply and awfully I was af-  
“ fected by the sight which I had witnessed,  
“ and however incapable I was of explaining  
“ it to my own satisfaction, yet I recovered  
“ sufficiently the possession of my mind, to  
“ get up ; and having hastily dressed myself,  
“ I left the House. The Sun was long risen,  
“ and directing my steps to the Church, I  
“ found that it was open ; but, the Sexton  
“ had quitted it, and on entering the Chancel  
“ my Mind and Imagination were so strongly  
“ impressed by the Scene which had recently  
“ passed, that I endeavoured to dissipate  
“ the recollection, by considering the Objects  
“ around me. In almost all the Lutheran  
“ Churches of the Prussian Dominions, it is  
“ an established usage to hang up against

“ the walls of some part of the Building, the  
“ Portraits of the successive Pastors or Cler-  
“ gy men who have held the Living. A num-  
“ ber of these Paintings, rudely performed,  
“ were suspended in one of the Aisles. But  
“ I had no sooner fixed my Eyes on the last  
“ in the range, which was the Portrait of my  
“ immediate predecessor, than they became  
“ rivetted to the object; as I instantly re-  
“ cognized the same face which I had beheld  
“ in my Bed-chamber, though not clouded  
“ by the same deep expression of Melancholy  
“ or Distress.

“ The Sexton entered, as I was still con-  
“ templating this interesting Head, and I im-  
“ mediately began a Conversation with him,  
“ on the subject of the persons who had pre-  
“ ceded me in the Living. He remembered  
“ several Incumbents, concerning whom, re-  
“ spectively, I made various inquiries, till I  
“ concluded by the last, relative to whose  
“ History I was particularly inquisitive.”  
“ We considered him,” said the Sexton, “ as  
“ one of the most learned and amiable Men  
“ who have ever resided among us. His  
“ Charities and Benevolence endeared him to  
“ all his parishioners, who will long lament

“ his loss. But he was carried off in the  
“ middle of his Days, by a lingering illness,  
“ the cause of which has given rise to many  
“ unpleasant reports among us, and which  
“ still forms matter of Conjecture. It is  
“ however commonly believed, that he died  
“ of a broken Heart.” My Curiosity being  
“ still more warmly excited by the mention  
“ of this circumstance, I eagerly pressed him  
“ to disclose to me what he knew or had  
“ heard on the subject. “ Nothing respecting  
“ it,” answered he, “ is absolutely known; but  
“ Scandal had propagated a story of his  
“ having formed a criminal Connexion with  
“ a young Woman of the neighbourhood, by  
“ whom, it was even asserted, that he had  
“ two Sons. As a confirmation of the report,  
“ I know that there certainly were two Chil-  
“ dren, who have been seen at the parsonage;  
“ Boys of about four or five years old. But,  
“ they suddenly disappeared, some time be-  
“ fore the decease of their supposed Father;  
“ though to what place they are sent, or what  
“ is become of them, we are wholly ignorant.  
“ It is equally certain, that the Surmises and  
“ unfavorable Opinions formed respecting  
“ this mysterious Business, which must ne-  
“ cessarily have reached him, precipitated,

“ if they did not produce, the Disorder of  
“ which our late Pastor died : but he is  
“ gone to his account, and we are bound to  
“ think charitably of the departed,”

“ It is unnecessary to say with what Emo-  
“ tions I listened to this relation, which re-  
“ called to my Imagination, and seemed to  
“ give proof of the Existence, of all that I  
“ had seen. Yet, unwilling to suffer my  
“ mind to become enslaved by Phantoms  
“ which might have been the effect of error  
“ or deception, I neither communicated to  
“ the Sexton, the Circumstance which I  
“ had just witnessed, nor even permitted  
“ myself to quit the Chamber where it had  
“ taken place. I continued to lodge there,  
“ without ever again witnessing any similar  
“ Appearance; and the recollection itself  
“ insensibly began to wear away as the  
“ Autumn advanced. When the approach  
“ of Winter rendered it necessary to light  
“ fires through the House, I ordered the iron  
“ Stove that stood in the room, behind  
“ which, the figure which I had beheld, to-  
“ gether with the two Boys, seemed to dis-  
“ appear, to be heated for the purpose of  
“ warming the Apartment. Some difficulty

“ was experienced in making the attempt,  
“ the Stove not only smoking intolerably,  
“ but, emitting a most offensive Smell. Hav-  
“ ing, therefore, sent for a Blacksmith to  
“ inspect and repair it, he discovered in the  
“ inside, at the farthest extremity, the Bones  
“ of two small human Bodies, corresponding  
“ perfectly in size, as well as in other re-  
“ spects, with the description given me by  
“ the Sexton, of the two Boys who had been  
“ seen at the parsonage. This last Circum-  
“ stance completed my astonishment, and  
“ appeared to confer a sort of reality on an  
“ Appearance, which might otherwise have  
“ been considered as a delusion of the Senses.  
“ I resigned the Living, quitted the place,  
“ and returned to Königsberg: but it has  
“ produced upon my mind the deepest Im-  
“ pression, and has, in its effects, given rise  
“ to that uncertainty and contradiction of  
“ Sentiment which you remarked in my late  
“ Discourse.” Such was Count Felkesheim’s  
Story, which, from its singularity appeared  
to me deserving of Commemoration, in what-  
ever Contempt we may justly hold similar  
Anecdotes.

One of the most interesting portions of my

life, was the time that I passed at Naples, in the Summer of 1779. Sir William Hamilton, His Majesty's Minister, constituted in himself the greatest source of entertainment, no less than of instruction, which that Capital then afforded to Strangers. He honored me with his friendship, which he continued to the end of his life. In his person, though tall and meagre, with a dark Complexion, a very aquiline Nose, and a figure, which always reminded me of *Rolando* in "Gil Blas;" he had nevertheless such an air of intelligence, blended with distinction in his Countenance, as powerfully attracted and conciliated every beholder. His Mother, Lady Archibald Hamilton, enjoyed, as is well known, a very distinguished place in the favor of Frederic, late Prince of Wales; and Sir William himself was brought up from early life, with His present Majesty, to whom he became, after his Accession to the Crown, an Equerry. At a very early period he entered into the Army, and was at the Battle of Fontenoy, as well as, I think, at that of La Feldt.

The versatility of Sir William Hamilton's Character, constituted one of the most in-



teresting features of his Composition. Endowed with a superior understanding, a philosophic mind, and a strong inclination to the study of many Branches of Science, or of polite letters, which he cultivated with distinguished success; he was equally keen as a Sportsman, in all the exercises of the field. After being actively occupied in studying the Phænomena of Vesuvius, like the Elder Pliny; or in exploring the Antiquities of Pompeii and of Stabia, with as much Enthusiasm as Pausanias did those of ancient Greece; he would pass whole Days, and almost Weeks, with the King of Naples, either hunting or shooting in the royal Woods; or more laboriously engaged in an open Boat, exposed to the rays of a burning Sun, harpooning fish in the Bay of Castellamare. When beyond seventy years of age, he preserved undiminished his love of these Sports, particularly of fishing, which he followed with great ardor; thus mingling pursuits or passions of the Mind and of the Body, rarely united in the same Man. I have seen him, not more than two years before his Decease, perform the "Tarentella," an Apulian Dance, which, as it is undoubtedly a copy of the Bacchant Amusements of

Antiquity, demanded no slender portion of animal strength and spirits. The occasion was so remarkable, that I am induced to relate the particulars. Intelligence of the glorious Victory obtained by the English fleet under Lord Nelson, before Copenhagen, arrived in London, on Wednesday, the 15th of April, 1801. Sir William Hamilton then resided opposite the Green Park, in Piccadilly. About ten o'clock, that Evening, I went to his House, with Sir John Macpherson. We found assembled there, the Dukes of Gordon and Queensberry, Lord William Gordon, Monsieur de Calonne, Mr. Charles Greville, Sir William's Nephew; the Duke de Noia, a Neapolitan Nobleman; Mr. Kemble, the celebrated Comedian, and his Wife; the Reverend Mr. Nelson, now Earl of that name, with some other persons. Lady Hamilton, inspired by the recent Success of Lord Nelson against the Danes, of which Victory he had transmitted her, with his remaining Hand, all the particulars as they occurred, from the 1st, up to the 8th of April, the Day when the dispatches came away; after playing on the Harpsichord, and accompanying it with her voice, undertook to dance the "Tarentella."

Sir William began it with her, and maintained the Conflict, for such it might well be esteemed, during some Minutes. When unable longer to continue it, the Duke de Nöia succeeded to his place: but he, too, though near forty years younger than Sir William, soon gave in, from Extenuation. Lady Hamilton then sent for her own Maid servant; who being likewise presently exhausted, after a short time, another female Attendant, a Copt, perfectly black, whom Lord Nelson had presented her, on his return from Egypt, relieved her Companion. It would be difficult to convey any adequate idea of this Dance; but, the *Fandango* and *Seguedilla* of the Spaniards, present an image of it. Madame de Staël has likewise attempted to describe it, and has made "Corinna" perform it at a Ball in Rome, with the Prince of Amalfi, a Neapolitan, for her Partner: but, she has softened down the voluptuous Features that render it too powerful over the Imagination and the Senses. Yet she admits the "Mélange de Pudeur et de Volupté," inherent in the Exhibition, which conveyed an Idea of the Bayadères or Indian dancing Girls. Madame de Staël's "Corinna" could not be more fami-

liar with the Attitudes of the antique Statues, than was Lady Hamilton; nor more capable of transporting the Spectators to the Vatican Palace, or to the Medicean Gallery at Florence, by her accurate and picturesque Imitation of the Models there preserved, with which she seemed at Times to identify herself. Castagnettes, and the Tambour de Basque, constitute essential Accompaniments of the Performance; which, at its Termination, from the physical Exertions necessary, left her in a State of Dissolution, like the Delphic Priestess, overcome by the Inspiration of Apollo; or perhaps, more like Semelé, as Corregio has painted her, after her Interviews with Jove. We must recollect that the two performers are supposed to be a Satyr and a Nymph; or, rather, a Fawn and a Bacchant. It was certainly not of a nature to be performed, except before a select Company; as the Screams, Attitudes, Starts, and Embraces, with which it was intermingled, gave it a peculiar Character.

I have mentioned it, principally in order to shew Sir William Hamilton's activity and gaiety at that advanced period of life.

Though a finished Courtier, he preserved such an independence of Manner, without any mixture of Servility or Adulation, as seemed eminently to qualify him for the diplomatic Profession. His Conversation offered a rich diversity of Anecdote. With these qualifications, it cannot excite wonder that he formed the delight and ornament of the Court of Naples. No foreign Minister, not even the *Family* Embassadors of France and Spain resident there, enjoyed in so eminent a degree the favor or affection of His Sicilian Majesty. Nor was the attachment of that Prince to Sir William, merely limited to hunting, or fishing parties. He gave the English Envoy many solid proofs of sincere regard ; a regard that extended to the British Crown and Nation. One striking instance of this partiality took place in June, 1779, while I was at Naples. The King of Spain, Charles the Third, having written confidentially to his Son Ferdinand, that he should probably be induced soon to take part with Louis the Sixteenth, by entering into a War with Great Britain, as he effectively did immediately afterwards ; the King of Naples, though enjoined by his Father to secrecy, communicated the letter

itself to Sir William Hamilton. He even accompanied the disclosure, with the assurance of his deep regret at the Adoption of such a line of Policy; and his own firm determination never to enter into the hostile Combination against England, though himself a Prince of the House of Bourbon, and included in "the Family Compact" by name. Sir William transmitted the King's communication, as well as his assurance on the point, without delay to Lord North, then first Minister. I received this Anecdote from himself at Naples.

It was in Sir William's, and the first Lady Hamilton's Company, that I learned a number of curious, as well as authentic Particulars, relative to the King and Queen of Naples. Ferdinand the Fourth was then in the twenty-ninth year of his age; tall, muscular, and active in his frame, capable of immense fatigue, and apparently formed for long life. His features were coarse and harsh, his Nose immoderately long, like that of his Father and Brother, Charles the Third, and Charles the Fourth, Kings of Spain: but, nevertheless, though the component parts of his face might separately be esteem-

ed ugly, the general expression of his Countenance had in it something intelligent, and even agreeable. There was an unpolished simplicity, or rather a rude nature, in his Manner, Attitudes, Deportment, and Conversation, which pleased for a double reason; on account of its own intrinsic claim to be liked, and as being rarely found on a Throne, where we naturally expect Disguise, Artifice, and habits of Concealment. If he conversed little with Strangers, he seemed at least, when he talked, always to say what he thought; and he betrayed no defect of natural Understanding, though he was altogether destitute of that Elegance and Art, which frequently veil the want of Information. He always reminded me of a Rustic, such as Abdolonymus, elevated by fortune or accident, to a Crown: but, it was an amiable, honest, sensible, well intentioned Rustic, not altogether unworthy of such an Elevation.

The Queen of Naples, who was not quite twenty-seven years old at this time, seemed much better fitted to represent the Majesty of the Throne, and to do the honors of a Court. Though neither possessing Beauty

of face, nor loveliness of person, yet was she not absolutely deficient in either Respect; and if her Figure might be esteemed too large, still it wanted neither Grace, Dignity, nor even Attractions. She is the only Queen whom I ever saw weep in public, before a crowd of both Sexes, assembled in her own Palace, on a Gala Day. The Festival on which I was presented to her, happened to be the Anniversary of the loss of her eldest Son, who expired exactly a year before, in 1778. He was a very fine Boy, of promising expectations, to whom his Mother was passionately attached. The ignorance of the Neapolitan Physicians, as it was believed, had caused his Death: for, being seized with a violent sickness and pain in his Stomach, from which, an Emetic, promptly administered, might probably have relieved him, they had the imprudence to bleed him, and thereby brought on fatal Convulsions. Such was the Queen's distress, at the recollection of the event which had taken place on this painful Anniversary, that she was unable to repress her Emotions. In the Presence Chamber of the Palace at Naples, she stood under a Canopy, her right Hand held out to the Nobility and Courtiers,



as they approached to kiss it ; holding in her left, a Handkerchief with which she perpetually wiped her Eyes, that were suffused in Tears. It was difficult not to be favourably impressed towards a Princess, capable of giving such an involuntary testimony of her maternal Tenderness, in a place and situation, where it was impossible to suspect her of Artifice or Affectation.

Having drawn this imperfect outline of the King and Queen of Naples, from my own personal Observations, I shall enumerate some of the particulars respecting them, which I collected in the course of Conversation from Sir William or Lady Hamilton. I mean, his first Wife, who was a most accomplished and superior Woman.

“ No European Sovereign, without exception,” said Sir William, “ has been so ill educated as the King of Naples. He is not even master of any language except Italian, without making a painful effort ; and his ordinary Italian is a Neapolitan Dialect, such as the lowest of his Subjects, the *Lazaroni*, speak in their intercourse with each other. It is true that he under-

“ stands French, and converses in it when  
“ indispensable; but he rarely reads any  
“ French Author, and still more rarely at-  
“ tempts to write in that language. All the  
“ Correspondence that takes place between  
“ him and his Father, the King of Spain, is  
“ carried on in the common Neapolitan  
“ Jargon. They write very frequently and  
“ largely to each other; but, seldom does  
“ this Intercourse embrace political subjects:  
“ their letters, of which I have seen num-  
“ bers, being filled with accounts of the  
“ quantity and variety of the Game respec-  
“ tively killed by them, in which the great  
“ Ambition of each Prince is to exceed the  
“ other. Ferdinand, indeed, who scarcely  
“ ever reads, considers as the greatest of  
“ misfortunes, a rainy Day, when the Wea-  
“ ther proves too bad for him to go out to  
“ the Chace. On such occasions, recourse  
“ is had to every expedient by which time  
“ may be killed, in order to dissipate His  
“ Majesty's Ennui, even to the most puerile  
“ and childish Pastimes. The King's Edu-  
“ cation was systematically neglected: for,  
“ Charles the Third, alarmed at the Imbeci-  
“ lity of his eldest Son, Philip, Duke of  
“ Calabria, who on account of his recog-

“ nized debility of understanding, was wholly set aside from the right of Succession ;  
“ strictly ordered, at his departure for Spain  
“ in 1759, that this, his third Son should  
“ not be compelled to apply to any severe  
“ Studies, or be made to exert any close application of Mind.

“ I have frequently seen the unfortunate  
“ Duke of Calabria, who has only been  
“ dead a few years, and who was by his  
“ Birth, Heir to the Spanish Monarchy. He  
“ attained to Manhood, and was treated with  
“ certain distinctions, having Chamberlains  
“ placed about him in constant attendance,  
“ who watched him with unremitting Attention ; as otherwise he would have committed a thousand Excesses. Care was particularly taken to keep him from having  
“ any connexion with the other Sex, for  
“ which he manifested the strongest propensity ; but it became at last impossible  
“ to prevent him altogether from attempting  
“ to emancipate himself in this respect. He  
“ has many times eluded the vigilance of his  
“ keepers, and on seeing ladies pass through  
“ the Apartments of the Palace, would  
“ attack them with the same impetuosity,

“ as Pan or the Satyrs are described by  
“ Ovid, when pursuing the Nymphs; and  
“ with the same intentions. More than one  
“ Lady of the Court has been critically res-  
“ cued from his Embraces. On particular  
“ Days of the year, he was allowed to hold  
“ a sort of Court or Levee, when the foreign  
“ Ministers repaired to his Apartments, to  
“ pay their Compliments to him; but his  
“ greatest Amusement consisted in having  
“ his Hand held up by his Attendants, while  
“ Gloves were put upon it, one larger than  
“ another, to the number of fifteen or six-  
“ teen. His Death was justly considered as  
“ a fortunate event, under such circum-  
“ stances of incurable Imbecility.

“ Before the present King fully attained  
“ his seventeenth year, the Marquis Tanuc-  
“ ci, then Prime Minister, by directions  
“ sent from the Court of Madrid, provided  
“ him a Wife. The Archduchess Josepha,  
“ one of the Daughters of the Empress  
“ Maria Theresa, being selected for Queen  
“ of Naples; and being represented to young  
“ Ferdinand, as a Princess equally amiable  
“ in her mind, as she was agreeable in her  
“ person; he expected her arrival with

“ great pleasure, mingled even with some  
“ impatience. So much more severely was  
“ it natural that he should feel the melan-  
“ choly Intelligence, when it arrived from  
“ Vienna, that she was dead of the small-  
“ pox. In fact, he manifested as much Con-  
“ cern at the event, as could perhaps be  
“ expected in a Prince of his disposition,  
“ and at his time of life, for the Death of a  
“ person whom he had never seen. But, a  
“ Circumstance which greatly augmented his  
“ Chagrin on the occasion was, its being  
“ considered indispensable for him not to  
“ take his usual Diversion of hunting or fish-  
“ ing, on the Day that the account reached  
“ Naples. Ferdinand reluctantly submitted  
“ to such a painful and unusual renuncia-  
“ tion: but, having consented to it from a  
“ sense of Decorum, he immediately set  
“ about endeavouring to amuse himself with-  
“ in doors, in the best manner that Circum-  
“ stances would admit; an Attempt in which  
“ he was aided by the Noblemen in waiting  
“ about his person. They began therefore  
“ with Billiards, a Game which His Majesty  
“ likes, and at which he plays with skill.  
“ When they had continued it for some time,  
“ leap-frog was tried, to which succeeded

“various other feats of agility or Gambols.  
“At length, one of the Gentlemen, more  
“ingenious than the others, proposed to  
“celebrate the Funeral of the deceased  
“Arch-Duchess. The Idea, far from shock-  
“ing the King, appeared to him, and to the  
“whole Company, as most entertaining;  
“and no reflections, either on the Indeco-  
“rum, or want of apparent Humanity, in the  
“proceeding, interposed to prevent its im-  
“mediate realization. Having selected one  
“of the Chamberlains, as proper, from his  
“youth and feminine Appearance, to repre-  
“sent the Princess, they habited him in a  
“manner suitable to the mournful Occasion;  
“laid him out on an open Bier, according  
“to the Neapolitan Custom at interments;  
“and in order to render the Ceremony more  
“appropriate, as well as more accurately  
“correct, they marked his Face and Hands  
“with Chocolate drops, which were design-  
“ed to imitate the Pustules of the small-  
“pox. All the Apparatus being ready, the  
“funeral Procession began, and proceeded  
“through the principal Apartments of the  
“Palace at Portici, Ferdinand officiating as  
“Chief Mourner. Having heard of the  
“Arch-Duchess’s Decease, I had gone thi-

“ ther on that Day, in order to make my Con-  
“ dolence privately to His Majesty on the  
“ Misfortune; and entering at the time, I be-  
“ came an eye-witness of this extraordinary  
“ Scene, which, in any other Country of Eu-  
“ rope, would be considered as incredible,  
“ and would not obtain Belief.

“ The Arch-Duchess Caroline being sub-  
“ stituted in place of her Sister, and being  
“ soon afterwards conducted from Vienna to  
“ Naples, the King advanced in person, as  
“ far as the ‘ Portella,’ where the Neapolitan  
“ and Papal Territories divide, in order to re-  
“ ceive his new Bride. She was then not  
“ sixteen years old, and though she could  
“ not by any means be esteemed handsome,  
“ yet she possessed many Charms. Ferdi-  
“ nand manifested on his part, neither ardor  
“ nor indifference for the Queen. On the  
“ Morning after his Nuptials, which took  
“ place in the beginning of May, 1768, when  
“ the Weather was very warm, he rose at an  
“ early Hour, and went out as usual to the  
“ Chace, leaving his young Wife in Bed.  
“ Those Courtiers who accompanied him,  
“ having inquired of His Majesty how he

“ liked her ; ‘ *Dormé com un amazzata,*’ replied he, ‘ *et suda com un Porco.*’ Such an Answer would be esteemed, any where except at Naples, most indecorous ; but here we are familiarized to far greater violations of propriety and decency. Those acts and functions which are never mentioned in England, and which are there studiously concealed, even by the vulgar, here are openly performed. When the King has made a hearty meal, and feels an inclination to retire, he commonly communicates that intention to the Noblemen around him in waiting, and selects the favored Individuals, whom, as a mark of predilection, he chuses shall attend him. ‘ *Sono ben pransato,*’ says he, laying his hand on his Belly, ‘ *Adesso bisogna un buona panchiata.*’ The persons thus preferred, then accompany His Majesty, stand respectfully round him, and amuse him by their Conversation, during the performance.”

However strong this fact may appear, and however repugnant to our ideas of Decency ; it has been for successive Centuries, perfectly



consonant to the Manners of the Italians in general, and scarcely less so to those of the French. D'Aubigné, a grave Writer, in the "Memoirs of his own Life," does not hesitate to relate in the most circumstantial manner, the narrow escape which Henry the Fourth, his Master, had of being knocked on the Head, while engaged in this necessary function. Nay, D'Aubigné composed a "*Quatrain*" on the Adventure, which he has transmitted to Posterity. The Story is so naturally related, and is so characteristic of the Nation, that I can't resist giving it in the words of the Author. Henry, who was then only King of Navarre, having effected his escape from Paris, in 1575, on which occasion D'Aubigné accompanied him; they passed the river Seine at Poissy, and soon afterwards stopped to refresh themselves in a Village. Here, says D'Aubigné, the King "*étant allé faire ses affaires dans un tet à cochons, une Vieille, qui le surprit en cet état, lui auroit fendue la Tête par derrière, d'un coup de Serpe, sans moi qui parai le Coup.*" It is clear from this circumstance, that D'Aubigné must have been close to his royal Master at the time. Then follows the ludicrous Epitaph which he made for the occasion, on

a supposition that the old Woman had killed the King.

“ Cy git un Roi, grand par merveille,  
Qui mourut comme Dieu permet,  
D'un coup de serpe d'une Vieille,  
Ainsi qu'il chioit dans un tet.”

His Predecessor, Henry the Third; it is well known, was stabbed in the Belly, of which Wound he died, in 1589, while sitting on the *Chaise percée*; in which indecorous situation he did not scruple to give audience to Clement, the regicide Monk, who assassinated him. Marshal Suwarrow, in our own time, received his Aids du Camp, and his General Officers, precisely in a similar manner. Madame de Maintenon, as the Duke de St. Simon informs us, thought those moments so precious, that she commonly accompanied Louis the Fourteenth to the “Garderobe.” So did Louvois, when Minister of State. The Duke de Vendome, while commanding the Armies of France in Spain and Italy, at the commencement of the last Century, was accustomed to receive the greatest personages, on public Business, in the same situation. We have Cardinal Alberoni's authority for this fact. If we

read the account written by Du Bois, of the last illness of Louis the Thirteenth, we may there see what humiliating functions Anne of Austria performed for that Prince, in the course of his malady; over which, an English Writer, more fastidious, would have drawn a veil. Mademoiselle de Montpensier, and the Palatine Duchess of Orleans, though Women of the highest Birth and Rank, as well as of unimpeached Conduct, conceal nothing on these points, in their writings. The former, speaking of the Duchess of Orleans, her Step-mother, second Wife of Gaston, Brother of Louis the Thirteenth, says, " She had " contracted a singular habit of always running into another room, *pour se placer sur la Chaise percée*, when Dinner was announced. As she never failed in this particular, the Grand Maitre, or Lord Steward of Gaston's Household, who performed the Ceremony of summoning their Royal Highnesses to Table; observed, smelling to his Baton of Office, that there must certainly be either Senna or Rhubarb in its composition, as it invariably produced the effect of sending the Duchess to the Garde-robe." I have, myself, seen the late Electress Dowager of Saxony, Daughter of the

Emperor Charles the Seventh, at her own Palace, in the Suburbs of Dresden, rise from the Table where she was playing, when the room has been full of company of both Sexes; lay down her Cards, retire for a few minutes, during which time the Game was suspended, and then return, observing to those near her, "*J'ai pris Medecine aujourd'huy.*" These Circumstances sufficiently prove that Ferdinand, however gross his manners or language seem to us, by no means shocked the feelings, or excited the disgust of his own Courtiers.

" In all the exercises or exertions of the  
" Body, that demand vigor and address,"  
continued Sir William, " the King of Naples  
" excels. He might have contended for the  
" prize at the public Games of ancient  
" Greece, at Elis, or at Olympia, with no  
" ordinary prospect of success. He likes in  
" particular, wrestling; and having heard  
" that a young Irish Gentleman of the name  
" of Bourke, who visited Naples not long  
" since, was an expert Wrestler, he caused it  
" to be signified, that he should like to try a  
" fall with that foreigner: but, Bourke had  
" the good sense to decline a contest for the

“ Honors of the Palæstra, with a crowned  
“ Head. He dances violently at the Court  
“ Balls; on one of which occasions, some  
“ years ago, I witnessed a Scene truly origi-  
“ nal, as well as comic. When his Brother-  
“ in-law, the Emperor Joseph, being on his  
“ Progress thro’ Italy, arrived here, a superb  
“ Ball was given in honor of his visit; at  
“ which Entertainment, however, he declined  
“ mixing personally in the Dance. While  
“ his Imperial Majesty was standing near  
“ the Dancers, engaged in conversation with  
“ me; Ferdinand having gone down the set,  
“ and being in a most profuse state of per-  
“ spiration, pulled open his Waistcoat: then  
“ taking Joseph’s Hand, he applied it sud-  
“ denly to his own Shirt behind, exclaiming  
“ at the same time, ‘*Sentitté qui, Fratello*  
“ *mio.*’ The Emperor instantly withdrew  
“ his Hand, not without manifesting great  
“ discomposure; and the two Sovereigns re-  
“ mained for a few Seconds, looking in each  
“ other’s faces. Surprise was equally paint-  
“ ed in the features of both; for, as the one  
“ had never before been invited to try such  
“ an Experiment, so the other had never  
“ found any individual who did not esteem  
“ himself honored by the familiarity. I had

“ no little difficulty to restrain the Muscles  
“ of my Countenance on the occasion.

“ Joseph, who held his Brother-in-law’s  
“ Understanding in great contempt, endeavored to assume over him the sort of Superiority, arrogated by a strong, over a weak Mind. But, Ferdinand, though confessedly his inferior in cultivation and refinement, was by no means disposed to adopt his political opinions or ideas. He even manifested, in various Conversations, and on many Occasions, that, defective as his Education had been, he possessed as much plain Sense, and even acute Discernment, as the Emperor, or his Brother Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Joseph did not indeed inspire any very high Admiration, by his deportment, or general conduct, while he remained at Naples. He was irritable, and even irascible, where he should have shewn good humor, or command of temper. I accompanied him to the summit of Vesuvius, and with discern saw him break his Cane over the Shoulders of the Guide, Bartolomeo, for some slight offence which he had given his Imperial Majesty.

“ Ferdinand’s passions are all swallowed  
“ up in his rage for the pleasures of the  
“ field ; hunting, shooting, and fishing : for,  
“ this last Diversion, peculiarly adapted to  
“ the Climate of Naples, must be included  
“ in the number. He thinks no fatigue, and  
“ no privations, too great to undergo for its  
“ indulgence. The quantity of Game, by  
“ which I principally mean Deer, wild Boar  
“ of all ages, and Stags of every kind, pre-  
“ served in the Royal Woods or Parks, at  
“ Astruni, at Caserta, Caccia Bella, and  
“ other places, exceeds belief. And the  
“ Slaughter made of them in some of the  
“ hunting parties, is equally beyond credi-  
“ bility. I have frequently seen a heap,  
“ composed only of the Offal or Bowels,  
“ reaching as high as my head, and many  
“ feet in circumference. The King rarely  
“ misses a shot ; but, when he is tired with  
“ killing, then commences another Opera-  
“ tion. He next dissects the principal  
“ pieces of Game, which he presents to fa-  
“ vored Courtiers, or distributes among his  
“ Attendants. In order to perform this part  
“ of the Diversion, having first stripped, he  
“ puts on a flannel Dress, takes the knife in  
“ hand, and, with inconceivable dexterity,

“ cuts up the Animal. No Carcass-Butcher  
“ in Smithfield can exceed him in anatomi-  
“ cal ability ; but he is frequently besmear-  
“ ed with Blood from head to foot, before  
“ he has finished, and exhibits an extraor-  
“ dinary Spectacle, not easily to be ima-  
“ gined, by those who have never witnessed  
“ it. The Queen herself is sometimes ob-  
“ liged to be present at the Scene, though  
“ more, as may be supposed, in compliance  
“ with the King’s wish, than from her own  
“ inclination. He is equally indefatigable  
“ on the water, in harpooning or in catch-  
“ ing fish ; particularly the Pesce Spada, or  
“ Sword-fish ; and he neither regards heat,  
“ nor cold, nor hunger, nor danger. On  
“ these occasions, he is usually or always  
“ attended by a number of chosen Liparots,  
“ natives of the Lipari islands, who have  
“ been in all Ages most expert Sailors, Di-  
“ vers, and Fishermen.

“ It is thus that Ferdinand passes the  
“ greatest portion of his time ; while the  
“ Potentates of Germany, England, France,  
“ and Spain, are engaged in war. Not that  
“ he is indifferent to the felicity of his Sub-  
“ jects, or regardless of the security and



“prosperity of his Dominions. On the contrary, his Heart, which is animated with the best emotions towards his People, impels him to manifest it by all his Measures: but, his defects of Education, render him shy, embarrassed, and awkward; nor have his Ministers any wish to awaken, or to invigorate, the faculties of his Mind. Neither Tanucci, who governed Naples during his Minority, nor Sambuca, the present First Minister, desire to see him assume an active part in the Administration of public Affairs. The Chevalier Acton, who is at the head of the Marine, has however begun to put the Neapolitan Navy in a more respectable condition, than it has been for several Centuries. Already it affords some protection to the Coasts of Calabria and of Sicily; which have been perpetually infested by the Algerines, Tunisians, and other Pirates; who were accustomed to land, and to carry off whole Villages into slavery, precisely as Dragut and Barbarossa did, two hundred years ago. Such Calamities are even now by no means unusual. It is a fact, that I narrowly escaped, myself, some time since, in one

“ of my maritime Excursions round the  
“ Southern Provinces of the Kingdom, be-  
“ ing surprized in a Sparonara, while lying  
“ close under Cape Spartivento. Lady  
“ Hamilton was of the party, and those  
“ Barbarians would not have respected my  
“ official Character; nor still less would  
“ they have regarded the reclamations of  
“ this Government.

“ The power of the Neapolitan Kings is  
“ moreover fettered by many impediments,  
“ which even a Prince of the greatest Ta-  
“ lents, or of the most vigorous Charac-  
“ ter, would find difficult to surmount. In  
“ Apulia, as well as in Calabria and Sicily,  
“ the great feudal Barons still retain Privi-  
“ ledges, that render them almost independ-  
“ ant of the Crown; and which they con-  
“ sider as imprescriptible, having constituted  
“ their Birth-right for Ages, under the va-  
“ rious Dynasties that have reigned over  
“ this beautiful Country. The Church en-  
“ joys revenues and immunities, not less in-  
“ compatible in many respects, with civil  
“ Order and Obedience. But, Ferdinand is  
“ greatly beloved by his People, who know,  
“ and who do justice, to his good inten-

“ tions. He is even far more popular than  
“ the Queen. That Princess, who pos-  
“ sesses an active mind, and very considera-  
“ ble parts, as well as Ambition and love of  
“ Power, has assumed a share in the Admi-  
“ nistration, for which she is by no means  
“ unqualified : yet is she less esteemed than  
“ her Husband ; who, if he is not ardently  
“ attached to her as a Wife, treats her at  
“ least with great consideration, kindness,  
“ and confidence. They live together in  
“ conjugal union, though Her Majesty is  
“ not exempt from the frailties and weak-  
“ nesses of her Sex. Indeed, the Air, Man-  
“ ners, and Society of this Capital, are all  
“ very inimical to female Virtue. From the  
“ time of the first Jane, Queen of Naples,  
“ so famous in the Annals of Gallantry,  
“ down to the present Day, these Countries  
“ have exhibited Scenes of dissolute plea-  
“ sure, or rather, of unrestrained licentious-  
“ ness. They will probably ever so remain.  
“ Yet,” concluded Sir William, “ if I were  
“ compelled to be a King, I would choose  
“ Naples for my Kingdom. Here, a Crown  
“ has fewer Thorns, than in any other Coun-  
“ try. His very want of political Power, en-  
“ sures his repose ; and the Storms which

“ desolate Europe, pass over his Head with-  
“ out Injury. Placed at the Extremity of  
“ Italy, he is removed out of the way of  
“ contest and hostility. A delicious Cli-  
“ mate, Shores, to which the Romans retired  
“ when masters of the World, in order to  
“ enjoy a luxury unattainable elsewhere,  
“ and which are still covered with the re-  
“ mains of Roman Splendor, or Grecian  
“ Magnificence ; all the productions of the  
“ Levant, which are to be found here,  
“ blended with those of the Mediterranean ;  
“ a splendid Capital, Palaces, Woods, Game,  
“ every thing seems assembled in this en-  
“ chanting Bay, that can conduce to human  
“ Enjoyment. Such is the favored position,  
“ and the enviable lot of Ferdinand the  
“ Fourth.” Such, indeed, as here described,  
it might be considered without Exaggeration,  
in 1779 ; though during the awful Convul-  
sions which have shaken Europe since that  
period, produced by the French Revolution,  
his Throne was subverted, and himself com-  
pelled to take Refuge at Palermo, during  
many years.

The impunity with which the great Nobility perpetrated the most atrocious Crimes,

and the facility that they found in evading Inquiry, or in eluding Justice, then constituted one of the worst features of the Neapolitan Administration. Lady Hamilton, who had been several years resident at Naples, where she died not long afterwards, related to me various instances illustrative of this fact. "Some time ago," said she, "a Sicilian Lady of high rank, was by order of the Court, brought prisoner here, from that Island. She had committed so many Assassinations or Murders, that her own relations having denounced her, called on the Government to arrest the further course of her Crimes. It was believed that she had dispatched ten or eleven persons, by the Dagger, or by Poison; particularly by that species of Poison, denominated, '*Aqua tophana*.' I had the curiosity to visit her, during her confinement. She received me sitting in her Bed, conversed with great cheerfulness, offered me Chocolate, as well as other refreshments, and seemed to labour under no Agitation of Mind. In her person she was delicate, feminine, and agreeable, her manners polite and gentle. Her age did not exceed three or four and twenty. From her de-

“portinent, one could not have suspected her to be capable of such Atrocities. Though her guilt was unquestionable, she was not put to Death. Confinement for life, in a Convent of a severe Order, together with certain acts of religious mortification or penance, which they are compelled to undergo;—these constitute the punishments usually inflicted here, on Culprits of high Birth.”

The vicinity of the Northern Provinces of the kingdom of Naples, to the Papal Territories; and the ease with which Malefactors of both Countries, respectively gained an Asylum, by passing the Frontiers; opened another door to the commission of the most flagitious Acts. Conversing at Portici, on this subject, with Lady Hamilton, she related to me the following Story, which I shall endeavour to give in her own words. “About the year 1743, a person of the name of Ogilvie, an Irishman by birth; who practised Surgery with great reputation at Rome, and who resided not far from the ‘Piazza di Spagna,’ in that City; being in Bed, was called up to attend some Strangers who demanded his profes-

“ sional Assistance. They stopped before  
“ his House, in a Coach; and on his going  
“ to the door, he found two Men masked, by  
“ whom he was desired to accompany them  
“ immediately, as the case which brought  
“ them, admitted of no delay, and not to  
“ omit taking with him his lancets. He  
“ complied, and got into the Coach; but,  
“ no sooner had they quitted the Street in  
“ which he resided, than they informed him  
“ that he must submit to have his Eyes  
“ bandaged; the person to whom they were  
“ about to conduct him, being a lady of  
“ rank, whose name and place of abode, it  
“ was indispensable to conceal. To this re-  
“ quisition he likewise submitted; and after  
“ driving through a number of Streets, ap-  
“ parently with a view to prevent his form-  
“ ing any accurate idea of the part of the  
“ City to which he was conducted, the Car-  
“ riage at length stopped. The two Gentle-  
“ men his companions, then alighting, and  
“ each taking him by the arm, conducted  
“ him into a House. Ascending a narrow  
“ Staircase, they entered an Apartment,  
“ where he was released from the Bandage  
“ tied over his Eyes. One of them next ac-  
“ quainted him, that it being necessary to

“ deprive of life a lady who had dishonored  
“ her family, they had chosen him to per-  
“ form the Office, knowing his professional  
“ skill ; that he would find her in the ad-  
“ joining Chamber, prepared to submit to  
“ her fate ; and that he must open her Veins  
“ with as much expedition as possible ; a  
“ service, for the execution of which, he  
“ should receive a liberal recompence.

“ Ogilvie at first peremptorily refused to  
“ commit an act, so highly repugnant to his  
“ feelings. But, the two Strangers assured  
“ him, with solemn denunciations of venge-  
“ ance, that his refusal could only prove  
“ fatal to himself, without affording the  
“ slightest assistance to the object of his  
“ Compassion ; that her Doom was irrevoca-  
“ ble, and that unless he chose to partici-  
“ pate a similar fate, he must submit to exe-  
“ cute the Office imposed on him. Thus si-  
“ tuated, and finding all entreaty or remon-  
“ strance vain, he entered the room, where  
“ he found a Lady of a most interesting  
“ figure and appearance, apparently in the  
“ bloom of youth. She was habited in a  
“ loose undress ; and immediately after-  
“ wards, a female Attendant placed before



“ her a large tub filled with warm water, in  
“ which she immersed her legs. Far from  
“ opposing any impediment to the act which  
“ she knew he was sent to perform, the  
“ Lady assured him of her perfect resignation ; entreating him to put the sentence  
“ passed on her into execution, with as little  
“ delay as possible. She added, that she  
“ was well aware, no pardon could be  
“ hoped for from those who had devoted her  
“ to death, which alone could expiate her  
“ trespass : felicitating herself that his humanity would abbreviate her sufferings, and  
“ soon terminate their Duration.

“ After a short Conflict with his own  
“ mind, perceiving no means of extrication  
“ or of escape, either for the Lady, or for  
“ himself; being moreover urged to expedite his work, by the two persons without, who, impatient at his reluctance,  
“ threatened to exercise violence on him, if  
“ he procrastinated; Ogilvie took out his  
“ lancet, opened her Veins, and bled her to  
“ death in a short time. The Gentlemen  
“ having carefully examined the Body, in  
“ order to ascertain that she was no more ;  
“ after expressing their satisfaction, offered

“ him a purse of *Zechins*, as a remuneration; but he declined all recompence, only requesting to be conveyed from a Scene, on which he could not reflect without horror. With this entreaty they complied, and having again applied a Bandage to his Eyes, they led him down the same Staircase, to the Carriage. But, it being narrow, in descending the steps, he contrived to leave on one, or both of the walls, unperceived by his Conductors, the marks of his fingers, which were stained with Blood. After observing precautions similar to those used in bringing him thither from his own House, he was conducted home; and at parting, the two Masques charged him, if he valued his life, never to divulge, and if possible, never to think on the past Transaction. They added, that if he should embrace any measures, with a view to render it public, or to set on foot an inquiry into it, he should be infallibly immolated to their revenge. Having finally dismissed him at his own Door, they drove off, leaving him to his reflections.

“ On the subsequent Morning, after great

“irresolution, he determined, at whatever  
“risk to his personal safety, not to partici-  
“pate, by concealing so enormous a Crime.  
“It formed, nevertheless, a delicate and  
“difficult undertaking to substantiate the  
“Charge, as he remained altogether ignorant  
“of the place to which he had been carried,  
“or of the name and quality of the Lady  
“whom he had deprived of life. Without  
“suffering himself however to be deterred  
“by these Considerations, he waited on the  
“Secretary of the Apostolic Chamber, and  
“acquainted him with every particular;  
“adding, that if the Government would  
“extend to him protection, he did not des-  
“pair of finding the House, and of bringing  
“to light the perpetrators of the deed. Be-  
“nedict the Fourteenth, (*Lambertini*), who  
“then occupied the Papal Chair, had no  
“sooner received the information, than he  
“immediately commenced the most active  
“measures for discovering the Offenders.  
“A Guard of the *Sbirri*, or Officers of Jus-  
“tice, was appointed by his order, to ac-  
“company Ogilvie; who judging from vari-  
“ous Circumstances, that he had been con-  
“veyed out of the City of Rome, began by  
“visiting the Villas scattered without the

“ walls of that Metropolis. His search  
“ proved ultimately successful. In the Villa  
“ Papa Julio, constructed by Pope Julius  
“ the Third, (*del Monté*) he there found the  
“ bloody Marks left on the wall by his fin-  
“ gers, at the same time that he recognized  
“ the Apartment in which he had put to  
“ death the Lady. The Palace belonged to  
“ the Duke de Bracciano, the Chief of which  
“ illustrious family, and his Brother, had  
“ committed the Murder, in the person of  
“ their own Sister. They no sooner found  
“ that it was discovered, than they fled to  
“ this City, where they easily eluded the  
“ pursuit of justice. After remaining here  
“ for some time, they obtained a pardon, by  
“ the exertions of their powerful friends, on  
“ payment of a considerable fine to the  
“ Apostolic Chamber, and under the further  
“ condition of affixing over the Chimney-  
“ piece of the Room where the Crime had  
“ been perpetrated, a plate of Copper, com-  
“ memorating the Transaction, and their pe-  
“ nitence. This Plate, together with the  
“ Inscription, still continued to exist there  
“ till within these few years.”

However extraordinary many Circumstan-

ces of this Story may appear, similar events or accounts have been circulated and believed in other Countries of Europe. I have often been assured, both at Vienna, and in various places of the German Empire, that an Occurrence not less romantic, and more enigmatical in its nature, took place in 1774, or 1775; for, some uncertainty prevailed as to the precise time when the fact was pretended to have happened. It is well known that the "Bourreau," or public Executioner of the City of Strasburgh, although that place has formed a part of the French Monarchy ever since the reign of Louis the Fourteenth; yet was frequently employed during a great part of the last Century, to execute the functions of his Office, on the other side of the Rhine, in Swabia, on the Territories of Baden, and in the Brisgaw; all which Countries constitute a portion of Germany. Some persons who arrived at Strasburgh about the period to which I have alluded; having repaired, as it is said, to the House of the Executioner, during the Night, demanded that he should instantly accompany them out of the town, in order to execute a Criminal of Condition; for which service he should, of course, receive a liberal remuneration.

ration. They particularly enjoined him to bring the heavy two-edged Sword with which he was accustomed, in the discharge of his ordinary functions, to behead Malefactors. Being placed in a Carriage with his Conductors, he passed the Bridge over the river, to Kehl, the first Town on the Eastern Bank of the Rhine; where they acquainted him that he had a considerable Journey to perform; the object of which must be carefully concealed, as the person intended to be put to death, was an individual of great Distinction. They added, that he must not oppose their taking the proper precautions to prevent his knowing the place to which he was conveyed. He acquiesced, and allowed them to hoodwink him. On the second Day they arrived at a moated Castle, the draw-bridge of which being lowered for the Purpose, they drove into the Court. After waiting a considerable time, he was then conducted into a spacious Hall, where stood a Scaffold hung with black Cloth, and in the Centre was placed a Stool or Chair. A Female shortly made her appearance, habited in deep mourning, her face wholly concealed by a Veil. She was led by two persons, who, when she was seated, having first tied

her hands, next fastened her legs with Cords. As far as he could form any judgment from her general figure, he considered her to have passed the period of youth. Not a word was uttered; neither did she make any complaints, nor attempt any resistance. When all the preparations for her Execution were completed, on a signal given, he unsheathed the instrument of punishment, according to the practice adopted in the German Empire, where the Axe is rarely, or never, used for Decapitation; and her Head being forcibly held up by the Hair, he severed it, at a single stroke, from her Body. Without allowing him to remain more than a few Minutes, he was then handsomely rewarded, conducted back to Kehl, by the same persons who had brought him to the place, and set down at the end of the Bridge leading to Strasburgh.

I have heard the question frequently agitated, during my residence in Germany, and many different Opinions stated, relative to the Name and Quality of the Lady thus asserted to have been put to Death. The most generally adopted Belief rested on the Princess of Tour and Taxis, Augusta Elizabeth,

daughter of Charles Alexander, Prince of Wirtemberg. She had been married, at a very early period of life, to Charles Anselm, Prince of Tour and Taxis. Whether it proceeded from mutual incompatibility of Character, or, as was commonly pretended, from the Princess's intractable and ferocious Disposition, the Marriage proved eminently unfortunate in its results. She was accused of having repeatedly attempted to take away her Husband's life, particularly while they were walking together near the Castle of Donau-Stauff, on the high Bank overhanging the Danube, when, it was said, she endeavoured to precipitate him into the River. It is certain, that about the year 1773, or 1774, a final Separation took place between them, at the Prince's solicitation. The reigning Duke of Wirtemberg, her Brother, to whose Custody she was consigned, caused her to be closely immured in a Castle within his own Dominions, where she was strictly guarded, no Access being allowed to her. Of the last mentioned fact, there is little doubt; but, it may be considered as much more problematical, whether she was the person put to Death by the Executioner of Strasburgh. I have dined, in the Autumn of the year



1778, with the Prince of Tour and Taxis, at his Castle or Seat of Donau-Stauff, near the northern Bank of the Danube, a few Miles from the City of Ratisbon. He was then about forty-five years of age, and his Wife was understood to be in Confinement. I believe that her Decease was not formally announced as having taken place, till many years subsequent to 1778; but, this Circumstance by no means militates against the possibility of her having suffered by a more summary Process, if her conduct had exposed her to merit it; and if it was thought proper to inflict upon her capital punishment. The private Annals of the great Houses and Sovereigns of the German Empire, if they were divulged, would furnish numerous instances of similar Severity exercised in their own Families, during the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries. Some of these Stories might realize the tragical Adventures commemorated by Boccace, or related by Margaret, Queen of Navarre, sister of Francis the First, in her "Tales;" which last mentioned Productions, however romantic some of them may appear, are not Fictions, but, faithful delineations of the Gallantries or Crimes that took place in the Court of

Pau, where she resided, near the foot of the Pyrenees. Count Konigsmarck fell a victim, at Hanover, to the resentment of Ernest Augustus, father of King George the First : and we know how narrowly the great Frederic, afterwards King of Prussia, escaped perishing by the same Weapon which beheaded his Companion Katt, arbitrarily sacrificed by Frederic William the First, for only endeavouring to facilitate the Prince's evasion from his father's Court.

While I am engaged on the subject of extraordinary Events, I shall record one more Fact, which may appear equally curious with either of the Stories that I have just recounted. During the first Winter that I passed at Vienna, in 1778, I became acquainted with the Count and Countess Podotski. She was one of the most beautiful and accomplished Women of high rank, whom I have seen on the Continent. Her husband, a great Polish Nobleman, hereditary Cup-bearer, or "Grand Echanson" of the Crown, had become in some measure an Austrian Subject, in consequence of the first Partition of Poland, which took place in 1772. His patrimonial Estates lying

principally in that Southern Portion of the Kingdom which fell to the share of Maria Theresa, he of course repaired frequently to Vienna; between which Capital and Warsaw he divided his time. During the Winter of 1776, as the Count and Countess Podotski were on their way from Vienna to Cracow, the Wolves which abound in the Carpathian Mountains, rendered more than ordinarily bold and ferocious, in consequence of the severity of the Season; descending in great Numbers, began to follow the Carriage between the two little Towns of Oswiezk and Zator; the latter of which places is only a few Leagues distant from Cracow. Of two Servants who attended him, one had been sent forward to Zator, for the purpose of procuring post Horses. The other, a *Heyduc*, to whom he was much attached on account of his fidelity, finding the Wolves rapidly gaining ground on them, rode up, and exhorted the Count to permit him to abandon to these animals his Horse; as such a prey would naturally arrest their impetuosity, and allow time for the Count and Countess to reach Zator. Podotski immediately agreed to the proposal; and the *Heyduc*, mounting behind the Carriage, left

his Horse, who was soon overtaken, and torn in a thousand pieces.

They continued their journey meanwhile with all possible speed, in the hope of getting to the Town, from which they were at an inconsiderable distance. But, their Horses were fatigued; and the Wolves, become more ravenous, as well as eager, by having tasted Blood, already were nearly up with them. In this extremity, the *Heyduc* said to his Master, "There is only one way left to save us. We shall all be devoured in a few Minutes. I am ready to sacrifice myself, by going to meet the Wolves, if you will swear to be a Father to my Wife and Children. I shall be destroyed; but, while they are occupied in falling upon me, you may escape." Podotski, after a Moment's reluctance to accept such an Offer, pressed nevertheless by the prospect of imminent Destruction to them all, and seeing no prospect of any other means of Extrication, consented; and assured him, that if he were capable of devoting himself for their common preservation, his family should find in him a constant Protector. The *Heyduc* instantly descending, advanced to meet the Wolves, who sur-

rounded and soon dispatched him. But, his magnanimous Sacrifice of himself, by checking the ardor of their pursuit, allowed Count Podotski time to reach the Gates of Zator in safety. I ought not to omit that the *Heyduc* was a Dissident or Protestant, while his Master professed the Catholic religion; a circumstance which greatly added to the merit and effect of the Sacrifice. I believe that Count Podotski most religiously fulfilled his engagement, to befriend the family of his faithful Servant. For the honor of human Nature, we ought not to suppose it possible that he could fail on such a point. I cannot say that I have heard him relate this Story, himself; but, I have received it from those persons who knew its Authenticity, and who recounted it to me at Vienna, while the Count was engaged in the same room at Play, in the Hotel of the French Ambassador, the Baron de Breteuil, only about two years after it took place. An instance of more prompt, cool, and generous self-Devotion, is perhaps not to be found in the History of Mankind; nor ought its value to be in any Degree diminished by the Consideration, that even if the *Heyduc* had not acted as he did, they must all probably have perished together.

If Naples, in 1779, offered a number of enchanting Objects to the Imagination and the Senses ; Florence, where I likewise passed a considerable time in the same year, presented others not less captivating to the Mind. The "Palazzo Vecchio," once inhabited by the elder Cosmo, and by Lorenzo de' Medicis : Names which will be for ever venerated ;—the Chapel of St. Lorenzo, where reposed the remains of so many Princes or Individuals of that illustrious Family, whose Monuments were adorned by the Hand of Michael Angelo ;—the Gallery constructed for the reception of all those Master-pieces of ancient, and of modern Genius, which Taste and Expense had collected in the lapse of Ages ;—even the surrounding Scenery, the River Arno, Fiesolè, Vallombrosa, and every Object, awakened classic, or poetic recollections. Sir Horace Mann, who was then the British Minister at the Court of Tuscany, had long outlived the Extinction of the House of Medicis ; for which Race of Princes he seemed to preserve the same predilection, which Brantome always manifests for the Family of Valois, above the Line of Bourbon. He remembered, and personally knew, the last Grand Duke of the Medicean line, John Gaston,

who died in 1737 ; in consequence of whose Decease without issue, those beautiful Portions of Italy, constituting his Dominions, were finally transferred to a Prince of Lorraine.

Conversing with Sir Horace Mann, on this Topic, which always excited his regret ; “ John Gaston,” observed he to me, “ was one of the most superior and accomplished Men, whom the present Century has witnessed, if his immoderate pursuit of pleasures had not enervated his Mind, and debilitated his Frame. He became, long before his Death, incapable of continuing his family : but that inability did not produce its Extinction. A sort of fatality seemed to overhang the House of Medicis, and to render ineffectual all the measures adopted for its prolongation. When the fact became perfectly ascertained, that John Gaston could not perpetuate his line, the Cardinal Hippolito de Medicis, his Uncle, was selected for that purpose ; a Dispensation from his ecclesiastical Vows, being previously obtained from the Papal See. The only, and the indispensable object of the Marriage, be-

“ing the attainment of Heirs male to the  
“Grand Duchy, in order to prevent its sei-  
“zure by foreign Violence, or its incorpora-  
“tion with the Austrian, French, or Spanish  
“Monarchies ; all Italy was searched, with  
“the view of finding a young and hand-  
“some Princess, from whom might be ex-  
“pected a numerous Family. A Princess of  
“Mirandola, on whom the selection fell,  
“seemed to unite every requisite qualifica-  
“tion. The Nuptials were solemnized ;  
“and the Bridegroom being of a feeble Con-  
“stitution, as well as advanced in life, it was  
“plainly insinuated to the Lady, that for  
“reasons of State Necessity, connected with  
“the very political Existence of Tuscany  
“under the reigning House, she must pro-  
“duce an Heir. The most agreeable youths  
“and Pages about the Court were purposely  
“thrown in her way, and every facility was  
“furnished, that might conduce to the ac-  
“complishment of the Object. But, so sa-  
“credly did she observe the Marriage Vow,  
“that no seductions could make an impres-  
“sion on her, and she remained without  
“Issue. Her husband died, and was fol-  
“lowed by John Gaston. France having  
“acquired Lorrain, and Don Carlos being



“ made Sovereign of Naples, Tuscany was  
“ delivered over by the great Continental  
“ Powers, as a conquered or forfeited Coun-  
“ try, to Francis, Duke of Lorrain. But,  
“ no sooner had these Events taken place,  
“ than Hippolito’s Widow, who had sur-  
“ mounted every temptation to Inconstancy  
“ during his life, gave the reins to her Incl-  
“ nations, and brought into the world two  
“ or three Children, within a few years. It  
“ was thus that Florence, the repository of  
“ so many invaluable Monuments of Greek  
“ and Roman Sculpture, collected during  
“ successive Centuries, by the Princes of  
“ Medicis, together with the Territories de-  
“ pendant on it, passed into the Austrian  
“ Family.” Sir Horace little foresaw at  
that time, the new and more calamitous  
Revolutions impending over Tuscany, about  
to issue from the Volcano of the French Re-  
volution.

That beautiful Country, the Cradle of the  
fine Arts, in 1779, under the mild and paren-  
tal government of the Grand Duke Leopold,  
enjoyed a great degree of felicity, as well as  
prosperity : perhaps as much, or more, than  
at any period of its History ; either when a

Commonwealth, or under the Administration of the House of Medicis. While his Father, the Emperor Francis, retained the Sovereignty of Tuscany, that Portion of Italy was considered only as a detached Province of the Austrian Monarchy, rarely visited; and the internal Controul of which, Francis committed to Germans, or to subjects of Lorrain. But, with the Accession of Leopold, as Grand Duke, Florence assumed a new Aspect; and though he occasionally repaired to Vienna, in order to pay his duty to the Empress Maria Theresa his Mother, yet he was not partial to the Climate or Manners of Austria. He loved the Banks of the Arno, far more than those of the Danube; dividing his time between the Occupations of civil Government, the Education of his numerous family, which he superintended in person with great care; and the Researches of natural Philosophy, particularly Chymistry; for which last mentioned Pursuit, like the Emperor Francis, he nourished a strong predilection. In imitation of other royal Philosophers, ancient and modern, with the single illustrious Exceptions, I believe, of the great Frederic, King of Prussia, and of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden; he sought

in the gratifications of female Society, the best relief from the Toils and Cares of State. An English Lady, the Countess Cowper, became at this time distinguished by his Attachment; and the exertion of his Interest with Joseph the Second his Brother, procured her Husband, Earl Cowper, to be created soon afterwards a Prince of the German Empire: an Honor, which I believe, had not been conferred on any British Subject, since the beginning of the last Century, when John Churchill, the great Duke of Marlborough, was raised to the dignity of Prince of Mil-denheim, by the Emperor Joseph the First, after the memorable victory of Blenheim.

While I am engaged on the subject of the two Brothers, Joseph and Leopold, who were successively Emperors of Germany, as well as Kings of Hungary and Bohemia, I shall make a few Observations relative to both these Princes. The reign of Joseph, comprizing more than nine years, from November 1780, to February 1790, may be considered as one of the most unfortunate and injurious in its Effects to the House of Austria, which occurs in the Annals of that Family. He possessed nevertheless many

eminent Virtues; Activity, Frugality, enlargement of Mind, facility of Access, indefatigable Application, great renunciation of Pleasure, the desire of acquiring Knowledge, and of ameliorating the Condition of his People. But he was theoretical, of an irritable Temper, precipitate, ambitious, despotic; and led astray by his anxiety to appear, like his Contemporary, Frederic the Second, King of Prussia, his own General and Minister. That great Prince last named, became, himself, on more than one Occasion, during the "Seven Years War," as is well known, the victim of his temerity or pertinacity in rejecting the advice of his Commanders. Joseph attempted, with far inferior Talents, to conduct the military Operations; but Disaster perpetually attended him in the field. Laudohn was reduced to the necessity of forcing him to quit the Camp in Lower Hungary, during the War carried on against the Turks; and his Arms never penetrated beyond the Danube, into Servia, till he left the Army, and retired to Vienna. His Alliance with Catherine the Second, and his visits to the Crimea in her Company, of which romantic Journeys the Prince de Ligne has given us such amusing Details; produced no perma-

nent advantages to his Crown, or real benefit to his People. We know that he had actually made with the Russian Empress, a partition of all the European portion of the Turkish Dominions, and of some of the Asiatic Provinces lying along the Shore of the Black Sea: but, the two Sovereigns found it easier to divide Poland, than to dismember Turkey. Joseph's imprudent, arbitrary, and impolitic infractions of the privileges, or constitutional rights of his Flemish Subjects, when aggravated by his suppression of many of the Monastic Establishments; produced either an Insurrection, or a dangerous fermentation among the Hungarians, and throughout the Austrian Netherlands. While he fondly anticipated the Conquest of the Ottoman Provinces beyond Belgrade, which Prince Eugene had subjected to Charles the Sixth, seventy years earlier; the Hungarians opened a secret Negotiation of the most dangerous nature, with the Court of Berlin; and the Flemings overturned the Imperial Government at Brussels. Even the Archduchy of Austria, and the Kingdom of Bohemia, manifested symptoms of Disaffection: while the French Revolution, which had commenced in the Summer of 1789, advanc-

ing with gigantic steps towards Democracy, Anarchy, and external Violence, painfully attracted his Attention on that vulnerable Quarter, which He had imprudently dismantled and laid open to Invasion. Such was the critical and convulsed State of the Austrian Monarchy, when Joseph expired at Vienna, in the Spring of 1790, at the age of forty-nine; leaving no Issue by either of his Wives; but, extenuated by Diseases, caused or accelerated in their progress, by his own irritability of Temper, agitation of Mind, and the augmenting embarrassment of his Affairs.

Leopold, who succeeded him, and who was unquestionably a Prince of deep Reflection, enlarged Capacity, and sound Judgment; perceived the Misfortunes which had flowed from the spirit of Innovation, Reform, and restless Activity or Ambition, that had characterized his Brother. But, it was not easy for him to withdraw from the political Connexions formed by Joseph, with the Empress Catherine the Second. Yet, alarmed at the state of Flanders and of Hungary, while he dreaded the issue of the revolutionary Struggle in which his Brother-in-law,

Louis the Sixteenth, was involved with his subjects; Leopold, after many doubts, and much hesitation, finally determined to quit the Alliance of Russia. A Circumstance which took place not long after his Accession, confirmed him in the resolution. Potemkin, who then governed his imperial Mistress and the Court of Petersburgh; commanding the Armies of that Power in the vicinity of Oczakow, on the Coast of the Black Sea, pushed his Conquests against the Turks, so far to the Westward, in Moldavia and Walachia, as to approach the Austrian Frontier, on the Lower Danube, in Servia. Uneasy at the advances of such a neighbour, the Emperor addressed a letter to him, couched in very obliging language; but, intimating His Imperial Majesty's wishes that he would desist from prosecuting his advantages any further on that side. Potemkin, intoxicated with favor, brutal in his Manners, insolent, and restrained by no considerations of policy, or of respect for the Dignity of the writer, had the audacity to throw the letter on the ground, in the Presence of various Persons, to spit upon it, and to trample it under foot; adding the most injurious or insulting Epithets relative

personally to Leopold. These barbarous and impolitic Ebullitions of his rage, were reported soon afterwards to the Emperor, by Foscari, the Venetian Ambassador at the Court of Petersburg; who having returned to Venice, and there meeting His Imperial Majesty, acquainted him with the facts. Leopold heard the Narration with great apparent Calmness, but such an insult did not make the less deep impression on his Mind. We may however assume with Probability, that before Potemkin would have ventured on so outrageous an act of Contempt toward his Sovereign's Ally, he had good reason to believe that the existing ties between the two Courts or Sovereigns, were about to be dissolved, and new Alliances to be formed by Austria.

In fact, Leopold, from an early period of his Reign, turned all his views towards the two Courts of Berlin and London. After concluding a Treaty at Reichenbach, with the King of Prussia, he made Peace with the Turks at Sistova; wisely renouncing all his Brother Joseph's Conquests in Bosnia and Servia, restoring Belgrade to the Porte, and abandoning his Connexions with Cathe-



rine. Impelled by an anxious desire of arresting the Course of those French Revolutionary Principles, which, he foresaw, would, if not checked, eventually involve Europe in the greatest Calamities, he set on foot the celebrated *Interview of Pilnitz*. In the Summer of 1791, having repaired with his eldest Son, the present Emperor Francis, to the Castle or hunting Seat of that name, belonging to the Elector of Saxony, situate near Dresden; Frederic William, accompanied in like manner by his future Successor, the reigning King of Prussia, there met Leopold. Their Conferences led to a Treaty, which adopted as its fundamental Basis, the Resolution "not to make war " on *France*, but to arm against the introduction of *French Revolutionary Principles* into Germany and the Low Countries." The Emperor, who had formed an opinion to which he systematically adhered, that the Republican Faction in Paris would only be aided by Aggression and Hostility, thought that War must therefore be avoided: but, he conceived that the great Powers of Europe should arm against *French Principles*, by forming a military Cordon round France; thus shutting in, if I may so

express myself, the moral or political Infection, and leaving them to exhaust their democratic rage on each other.

Such was the unquestionable object and scope of that memorable *Treaty of Pilnitz*, relative to which so much has been said or written within the last twenty years, and whose very Existence has been called in Question. How far the Plan might have proved efficacious, if it had been generally acted upon by all the Germanic Body, as early as 1791 ; and if Leopold, who framed it, had lived to conduct its Operations ; it is difficult to venture a decided Opinion : but, for the authenticity of the Fact itself, I think I may challenge Contradiction. Perhaps, moral and political Principles are not to be shut in or compressed by any defensive precautions which can be adopted by human wisdom. I am fully convinced at least, that when Mr. Pitt, early in 1793, declared open Hostility on France, he could not have saved England by temporizing Measures. Nay, I thought at the time, and I continue so to think now, after the lapse of more than twenty years, that Mr. Fox would have formed the same Estimate, and would have

acted precisely in the same manner, if he had been seated in Mr. Pitt's place, as First Minister, on the Treasury Bench. The whole difference in their mode of seeing and appreciating the tendency of the French Revolution, lay in the possession, or the negation, of political Power. Indeed, the fact was practically proved, when Fox, after Pitt's Decease in 1806, arrived at Employment. It soon became evident how much his attainment of a Seat in the Cabinet, had illuminated his understanding, as well as invigorated his Measures, in opposition to revolutionary Principles and their consequences. Fox's masterly Speech on the Cession of the two Margraviates of Anspach and Bareith to Bavaria, by Frederic William King of Prussia, and his Acceptance of Hanover from Bonaparte, as a Compensation; sufficiently demonstrated that he then saw through the Optics of Pitt and Burke. The present Earl of Chatham, if he had been seated under the Gallery at the Time, might have exclaimed with *Isabella* in "Measure for Measure," on hearing the Secretary's Harangue,

"There spake my Brother. There my Father's Grave  
Did utter forth a Voice!"——

I return to Leopold. So anxious was he to form a defensive League against the French Republican Contagion, that on the very Day succeeding his Coronation at Frankfort, as Emperor of Germany, in the Autumn of 1790, he despatched a confidential Agent, whom I well know, and who is still living, to the Court of Berlin, empowered to open a private Negotiation with Frederic William. It was confined personally to the two Sovereigns; their respective first Ministers, Kaunitz and Hertzberg, being excluded from any knowledge of the Transaction. The King of Prussia, who came readily into Leopold's views, employed Bischoffswerder, his Favorite, to carry back his assent. But, no final or effectual Measures, as they well knew, could be settled, without the participation of England. Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville entered ardently into the Plan, which had principally in view two Objects; to arrest the arms of Catherine on the Shore of the Euxine, and to coerce the Republicans of Paris, without making offensive War on France. The former of these points would unquestionably have been attained, if Mr. Fox had not excited so formidable an Opposition in the House of Commons, as

compelled the Ministry reluctantly to recede from their Engagements. He at the same time sent Mr. Adair, as his own private Agent, to Petersburg; an act, for which, many persons thought that he deserved Impeachment, far more than Hastings merited Prosecution on Account of his Conduct while Governor General of India. Leopold, apprehensive of Catherine's resentment, doubtful of Mr. Pitt's and Lord Grenville's sincerity, nor without alarm at the murmurs which he foresaw would arise among his own Troops, on the evacuation of Belgrade, and the Restitution of his Conquests in Serbia; said to a Gentleman, a Native of Great Britain, deep in his Confidence, with whom he was accustomed to unbosom his thoughts, and who had formed the medium of his Intercourse with Frederic William, "*J'ai signé la Paix avec les Turcs: mais, la Grande Bretagne, est-elle sincère? Me tiendra-t-elle ses Engagemens? Catherine sera inexorable. Je l'ai vu en Songe, Hier, la nuit, le Poignard à la Main.*" He even disapproved and lamented the line of Conduct adopted by Pitt towards the Empress, in the Business of Oczakow, as severe, irritating, and calculated to render her implacable. "Why,"

observed Leopold, speaking to the same friend, "rob the Empress of her laurels, " and humiliate Her in the eyes of Europe? " It is necessary that her Head should be " encircled with Glory, in order to hide " her Feet, which are all stained with " Blood." In fact, Catherine, who never forgave either Austria, Prussia, or England, for their conduct towards her, propelled those Powers to commence War on France in 1792; but, she extended no Assistance to them in the Contest. On the contrary, she compelled Frederic William to withdraw from the great Alliance, and to return home, by attacking Poland. " If," said the King, addressing himself to the distinguished Individual already alluded to, " I had not " marched my Army back into my own " Dominions, she would not only have taken " Warsaw, but have entered Berlin likewise " with her Troops." It was Russia, therefore, which acted as one great Cause of the Overthrow of the first Confederacy formed against Republican France.

During the Autumn of the year 1791, Leopold being on his way from Vienna to Florence, stopped, for the Purpose of Re-

freshment, at a small post House in the Duchy of Styria; where, while he remained, a croud of his own Subjects, pressed round to look at him. Among them he remarked an old Woman, who, when he got into his Carriage, approached it; and knocking against the Glass with her hand, addressed some words to him in a tone of great violence and asperity, accompanied with Gestures indicative of resentment: but, as she spoke in the Styrian Dialect, he was wholly unable to comprehend her meaning. Apprehending that she might have some Complaint to prefer, or might have received some Injury demanding redress, he ordered his Attendants to question her on the subject of her application. They manifested considerable reluctance in explaining to him its nature; but on his insisting to be informed, one of them answered that she said, “Ren-der Justice promptly. We know all that the Poissardes have done at Paris.” The Emperor made no reply; but, when he recounted the Story to the Gentleman who related it to me, and to whom He was used to speak without Reserve, he added, “You may suppose that I have read and reflected much upon the French Revolution, and

“ its Consequences : but, all that has been  
“ said, or can be written upon it, never car-  
“ ried such Conviction to my Mind, as the  
“ few words uttered by the old Woman in  
“ Styria.” They forcibly remind us of the  
Female, who observed to Alexander the  
Great, that if he was not at Leisure to hear  
Abuses, and to redress Grievances, why did  
he reign ?

Notwithstanding all the efforts made by  
the Emigrants, for inducing Leopold to  
commence War with France, he remained  
inflexibly steady to his System of arming  
against the *Revolution*, but of never attack-  
ing the *French Nation*. It was not till after  
his Decease, under Francis, his Successor, in  
the Summer of 1792, that the Austrians en-  
tered Champagne, in conjunction with the  
Prussian Forces. Leopold's Death took  
place on the first day of March, that very  
year, at Prague ; to which City he had re-  
paired for the purpose of being there crowned  
King of Bohemia. I think I may venture to  
assert with Confidence, that he was poison-  
ed ; and that the Poison was administered in  
Confectionary, which a Lady presented him  
at a Masquerade. Every Endeavour was



used to conceal the fact; and with that view, it was pretended that his End had been produced by some Drugs or Incentives, which he himself prepared in his own Laboratory:—for, he passed much time in chymical researches and processes. But, Agusius, his Physician, who opened his Body, did not entertain any doubt that he fell a victim to Poison.

During the Spring of the year 1798, chancing to be alone with a foreign Nobleman, in London; whose name I do not think proper to mention, he being still alive, but whose veracity was unquestionable; and who, as having been the Ambassador of a Crowned Head, at the Court of Vienna, when Leopold's Death happened, must have possessed the best means of obtaining Information; I ventured to interrogate him on the subject. "I was accustomed," answered he, "during the last year of the Emperor's life, to see him frequently, and to have long Audiences of him, on Business, in his Closet. During these Interviews, I beheld him when divested of any disguise; and I can pronounce, as a matter of certainty, that the Force of his Mind was then

“altogether broken, and his Faculties en-  
“feebled. His Memory in particular had  
“become so weakened, that he could no  
“longer retain from one Day to another, the  
“facts or images committed to it. He rarely  
“recollected the Conversation of the preced-  
“ing Morning. This premature Decay of  
“his intellectual powers, resulted from his  
“inordinate passion for the other Sex, which  
“had characterised him at every period of  
“his life, and which he continued to indulge  
“when it proved destructive to his frame.  
“The Brain was particularly affected. - In  
“my Audiences of Leopold, he always  
“walked up and down the Apartment, dur-  
“ing the whole time. On his Table lay a  
“number of rolls of Wax, which he bit from  
“one Minute to another, spitting out the  
“pieces on the floor. When he quitted the  
“room, whether any other persons were pre-  
“sent, or whether we were alone, he never  
“advanced forward in a straight line; but  
“he went round the sides of the Chamber,  
“touching with his hand the Wainscot, or  
“the Window shutters. No Circumstances  
“could more strongly indicate a disordered  
“or enfeebled Understanding. As to the  
“nature of his Death, I am unable positively

“ to pronounce upon the fact. Certainly, “ his Body, when opened, exhibited every “ mark of Poison. But, if he was poisoned, “ by whom was it administered, or with “ what Object? I cannot pretend to guess, “ nor even to form a Conjecture.” Two Opinions, as I have been assured, prevailed at Prague, respecting it; both of which were alike founded on Leopold’s well known determination not to engage in a War with France. One Party maintained that the Girondists, which Faction then predominated at Paris, dreading the effects of his defensive System, as most injurious to their tenure of Power, removed him in the manner related; while another Party accused the Emigrants of having produced his Death, as the only means left them of regaining their Estates, by forcing an immediate rupture between the Austrian and French Governments. I must leave the fact problematical. Time, however, will probably elucidate its nature.

Among the Objects of mingled Curiosity and Compassion, which Florence presented in 1779, to the view of an Englishman, was the Chevalier de St. George; or, as we commonly denominate him, the *Pretender*. It

was impossible to contemplate him, without making many reflections on his own Destiny, and on the condition of the infatuated Family of which he was the Representative. Neither ancient, nor modern History, presents the example of a line of Princes so eminently unfortunate, during a succession of Ages! The Calamities, which overwhelmed the House of Bourbon, awful as they must be esteemed, have been comprized within the space of five and twenty years: but, from James the First of *Scotland*, murdered in the most inhuman manner, at Perth, in 1437, down to the last of his Descendants; with only the two exceptions of James the First of *England*, and Charles the Second; all the others perished by the hand of the Executioner, or by violent and premature Death, or died in Exile, maintained by foreign Contribution. It was not, however, merely when considered as the Grandson of James the Second, and the Inheritor of the pretensions of the Stuarts, that the Chevalier de St. George excited an Interest in the mind of every reflecting Spectator. By his Mother, he descended from the celebrated John Sobieski, King of Poland, who was his maternal great Grandfather; the first Chevalier de



*Charles Edward Stuart,*  
*(the Pretender 1745)*

*Engraved by W. Poul from an Original by Elias Humphrey, R. A.*



St. George having carried off from Inspruck, about the year 1719, and married, Clementina Sobieska, daughter and heiress of Prince James Sobieski, whom Charles the Twelfth, King of Sweden, meditated, some years earlier, to have placed on the Polish Throne. In right of that Princess, her Son succeeded to very considerable patrimonial Estates situated in Poland; the produce of which, formed a much more solid source of Support, than the precarious Allowance or Donations, made and withdrawn as Circumstances impelled, by the French and Spanish Crowns, or by the Apostolic See. Clement the Fourteenth (Ganganelli), when he refused to continue to the Chevalier, the public *Honors* previously enjoyed by his Father and himself at Rome, where a Canopy, decorated with the Royal Arms of Great Britain, was erected over their Box in the Theatre; retrenched likewise the pecuniary *Appointments*, antecedently paid him out of the Treasury of St. Peter. Nor do I believe that they were restored by Pius the Sixth, after his Election to the Papal Chair in 1775: but, the *Pretender's* Income at the time of which I speak, might be estimated at more than five thousand Pounds Sterling; a Sum fully ade-

quate, at Florence, to maintain an Establishment becoming his situation.

His Faculties, even in their Zenith, appear to have been very moderate : but his Valour, though not heroic, was never, I believe, called in question by the Scots, during his Campaign in 1745 and 1746 ; as that of Charles the Second had been doubted in 1652, at the Battle of Worcester ; and as James the Second's Courage was questioned, on various Occasions, both as Lord High Admiral, on the water, during the two Dutch Wars under his Brother's Reign, and on the land. Charles the First is indeed the only Prince of the Stuart Race, after their Accession to the English Throne, whose Bravery, conspicuously displayed at Edge Hill, at Newbury, at Naseby, and in many other Battles or Encounters, during the Course of the Civil Wars, equally sustained him in the last act of his life, on the Scaffold. In 1779, Charles Edward exhibited to the world, a very humiliating Spectacle. At the Theatre, where he appeared almost every Evening, he was conducted by his Domestics, who laid him on a species of Sofa, in the back part of his Box ; while



the Countess d'Albany, his Consort, occupied the front seat during the whole Performance. Count Alfieri, a Man singularly eccentric in his Mind, Habits, and Manners; whose dramatic Productions have since rendered him known; her "*Cavaliero servante*," always attended on her in public, according to the established usages of Society throughout Italy. As, for obvious reasons, English Subjects could not be presented to a man who still laid Claim to the British Crown; no Opportunity of distinctly seeing the Chevalier de St. George, offered itself, except across the Theatre: and even there he lay concealed, as I have already observed, on account of his Infirmities: rarely coming forward to view.

Being desirous, therefore, to obtain a more accurate idea of his Face and Person, than could be acquired at such a distance; I took my station, one Evening, at the head of a private Staircase, near the Door by which, when the Performance closed, he quitted the Playhouse. Previous to my leaving England in 1777, His Majesty had been pleased, at the application of Lord Robert Manners, who then commanded the third Regiment of

Dragoon Guards, to give me a Lieutenant's Commission; and Lord Robert had allowed me to wear his Uniform, which I had on at the time. The present General Manners, now first Equerry to the King, and who has represented the Town of Cambridge in Parliament for a great number of years; then a Cornet in his father's Regiment, dressed in the same Uniform, and actuated by a similar Curiosity, accompanied me. As soon as the Chevalier approached near enough to distinguish the English Regimental, he instantly stopped, gently shook off the two Servants who supported him, one on each side; and taking off his Hat, politely saluted us. He then passed on to his Carriage, sustained by the two Attendants, as he descended the Staircase. I could not help, as I looked at him, recollecting the series of Dangers and Escapes which he underwent or effected, for successive Months, among the Hebrides, after his defeat at Culloden: a chain of Adventures which has no parallel among modern Nations, except in those equally extraordinary Hardships which distinguished the flight of Charles the Second from Worcester; or in the romantic Extremities to which Stanislaus, King of Poland, was reduced in

1734, after his Evasion and Flight from Dantzic. Mrs. Lane gave to the former of those Princes, the same noble proofs of disinterested Devotion, which Flora Macdonald displayed towards the *Pretender*: and both were eminently indebted for their final preservation, to female Honor or Loyalty. Charles Edward's Complexion was dark, and he manifestly bore the same family resemblance to his Grandfather James the Second, that His Britannic Majesty's Countenance presents to George the First, or to the late King. On the Occasion just related, he wore, besides the Decorations of the Order of the *Garter*, a velvet great Coat, which his infirm Health rendered necessary, even in Summer, on coming out of the Theatre; and a cocked Hat, the sides of which were half drawn up with gold twist. His whole Figure, paralytic and debilitated, presented the appearance of great bodily Decay.

The strength of his Mind had likewise become extinct at this time; and with the decline of his intellectual Powers, the suavity of his Temper forsaking him, he became irritable, morose, and intractable, particularly in his family. An unhappy propensity

to Wine, which he gratified to Excess, while it enervated his System, rendered him frequently an object of Pity or of Contempt, when in public; divesting him of that Dignity which would otherwise have always accompanied the Descendant and Representative of so many Kings. His Misfortunes, Exile, and anomalous Situation, aggravated by mortifications of various kinds which he had undergone, both in France, and at Rome; probably induced him to have recourse to the Grape, for procuring Oblivion, or dispensing temporary felicity. That melancholy Indulgence extinguished the last hope which Fortune ever tendered him of ascending the Throne of England, justly forfeited by the Tyranny and imbecile Bigotry of James the Second.

I know from high Authority, that as late as the year 1770, the Duke de Choiseul, then First Minister of France, not deterred by the ill success of the Attempts made in 1715, and in 1745, meditated to undertake a third Effort for restoring the House of Stuart. His enterprizing Spirit led him to profit of the Dispute which arose between the English and Spanish Crowns, respecting

the possession of Falkland Islands, in order to accomplish the Object. As the first step necessary towards it, he dispatched a private Emissary to Rome, who signified to Charles Edward, the Duke's desire of seeing him immediately at Paris. He complied, and arrived in that City with the utmost privacy. Having announced it to Choiseul, the Minister fixed the same Night, at twelve o'Clock, when he and the Marshal de Broglie would be ready to receive the *Pretender*, and to lay before him their plan for an Invasion of England. The Hotel de Choiseul was named for the Interview, to which place he was enjoined to repair in a hackney Coach, disguised, and without any Attendant. At the appointed time, the Duke and the Marshal, furnished with the requisite papers and instructions drawn up for his conduct on the Expedition, were ready: but, after waiting a full Hour, expecting his appearance every instant, when the Clock struck one, they concluded that some unforeseen Accident must have intervened to prevent his Arrival. Under this Impression they were preparing to separate, when the noise of wheels was heard in the Court yard; and a few Moments afterwards, the Pretender entered the room, in a state of such Intoxica-

tion, as to be utterly incapable even of ordinary Conversation. Disgusted, as well as indignant, at this disgraceful Conduct, and well convinced that no Expedition undertaken for the restoration of a man so lost to every sense of decency or self-interest, could be crowned with Success; Choiseul, without hesitation, sent him, next Morning, a peremptory Order to quit the French Dominions. The *Pretender* returned to Italy; and the Nobleman who related to me these particulars, being in Company with the late Duke of Gloucester, in 1770, while walking together in the Streets of Genoa, met the Chevalier de St. George, then on his way back from France to Rome. The Duke de Choiseul was soon afterwards dismissed by Louis the Fifteenth, and new principles of policy were adopted in the Cabinet of Versailles. The Contest respecting the Falkland Islands being accommodated, Peace continued to subsist between the Courts of France and England: while Charles Edward, driven by the Mortifications which he experienced at Rome; to abandon that City, sought Refuge at Florence; where he finished in January, 1788, his inglorious Career, as James the Second had done in 1701, at the Palace of St. Germain, in the Vicinity of Paris.

Louisa of Stolberg, Countess d'Albany, his Consort, merited a more agreeable Partner, and might, herself, have graced a Throne. When I saw her at Florence, though she had been long married, she was not quite twenty-seven years of age. Her person was formed on a small scale: she had a fair Complexion, delicate Features, and lively, as well as attractive Manners. Born Princess of Stolberg-Gedern, she excited great Admiration on her first Arrival from Germany: but in 1779, no hope of Issue by the Chevalier could be any longer entertained; and their mutual infelicity had attained to such a height, that she made various ineffectual attempts to obtain a Separation. The French Court may indeed be censured, in the Eye of Policy, for not having earlier negotiated and concluded the Pretender's Marriage, if it was desired to perpetuate the Stuart Line of Claimants to the English Crown. When Charles Edward espoused the Princess of Stolberg, he had passed his fiftieth year, was broken in Constitution, and debilitated by Excesses of many kinds. Previous to his Decease, she quitted Italy, and finally established herself at Paris. In the year 1787, I have passed the Evening at her residence,

the Hotel de Bourgogne, situate in the Faux-bourg St. Germain, where she supported an elegant Establishment. Her Person then still retained many pretensions to Beauty; and her Deportment, unassuming, but dignified, set off her Attractions. In one of the Apartments stood a Canopy, with a Chair of State, on which were displayed the royal Arms of Great Britain; and every piece of Plate, down to the very Tea-spoons, were ornamented in a similar manner. Some of the more massy pieces, which were said to have belonged to Mary of Modena, James the Second's Queen, seemed to revive the extinct recollections of the Revolution of 1688. A numerous Company, both English and French, male and female, was assembled under her roof, by all of whom she was addressed only as Countess d'Albany: but her own Domestics, when serving her, invariably gave her the title of Majesty. The Honors of a Queen, were in like manner paid her by the Nuns of all those Convents in Paris, which she was accustomed to visit on certain Holydays or festivals. She continued to reside in the Capital of France, till the calamitous progress of the French Revolution, compelling her to abandon that Country, she



repaired to London; where she found not only personal protection, but new resources in the Liberality and Bounty of George the Third.

While I am engaged on the Adventures of the Stuart Family, I shall commemorate a fact, which will probably impress every reader with astonishment. Dining at the present Earl of Hardwick's, in London, with a large Company, in June, 1796; among the persons present, was the late Sir John Dalrymple, known by his "History of England," and "State Papers." The Conversation turning on historical Subjects, he assured us that the Princess Sophia, Mother of King George the First, who would have ascended the Throne of Great Britain in her own person, if she had not died about seven Weeks before Queen Anne; was nevertheless a determined Jacobite in her political Principles. On our expressing the Amazement which such an Assertion was calculated to produce, he declared, that while he was occupied in looking over the memorable Chest preserved in Kensington Palace, from which, in the beginning of the present reign, he took the State Papers given by Him to the world; he

found a Bundle of Letters, marked on the back, in King William's own hand-writing, "Letters of the Electress Sophia to the Court of St. Germain's." Having perused them, he ascertained beyond any Doubt, that Sophia was really engaged in close Correspondence with James the Second, and attached to his Interests, in opposition to those of William. Lord Rochford, who was then Secretary of State, having procured for Sir John Dalrymple, permission from His Majesty, to examine and publish the Papers in question; he immediately communicated to that Nobleman his Discovery: requesting at the same time, his Lordship's Sanction or Approbation, in giving to the World the Letters of the Electress Sophia. "Publish them by all means, Jack," answered he. Thus empowered from such Authority, Dalrymple destined them without Delay for the Press: but, before he had time to get the Letters copied, Lord Rochford sent to him, desiring to have them delivered back to himself, in order that he might submit them to His Majesty's Inspection; he having on more mature reflection, judged it proper to take the King's pleasure on a matter of such Delicacy and Singularity.

Dalrymple returned them therefore to Lord Rochford, who carried them to the Queen's House, and presented the Bundle to His Majesty. But, they were neither restored, nor was even any Allusion to them ever made in Conversation by the King; he no doubt conceiving it more judicious to commit such Documents to the flames, than to permit their publication. However extraordinary this Anecdote may appear, it ought not to surprize, on full consideration, that Sophia should feel the warmest Attachment to James the Second. He was very nearly related to her by Consanguinity; *her* Mother, Elizabeth, the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, and Charles the First, *his* Father, being Brother and Sister. Nor could Sophia, during many years subsequent to the Revolution of 1688, nourish the slightest Expectation of being called to the British Throne, while the Princess Anne and her Issue interposed between the House of Brunswick and that Succession. It was not till after the Death of William, the young Duke of Gloucester, in 1700, when the Princess Sophia and her Descendants being named by Act of Parliament, to succeed eventually to the Crown of Great Britain, as the nearest

Protestant Heirs of the Royal line; her Interests from that Period, became opposed to the right of Blood existing in the Stuart race.

Brussels, where I made a short stay in the Summer of the same year, 1779, exhibited another Prince in a state of physical and mental Infirmary, not less calculated to excite pity than the *Pretender*. The Austrian Netherlands were at that Time administered, as they had been almost ever since the Peace of Aix-la Chapelle in 1748, by Prince Charles of Lorrain, as Representative of the Empress-Queen. His double Alliance, both by Consanguinity and by Marriage, with the Emperor Francis and Maria Theresa; being Brother to the former, and having married the Sister of the latter Sovereign;—these qualities and pretensions, rather than any mental Endowments, civil or military, had raised him to the Government of the Low Countries, the most enviable delegation of sovereign Power then existing in Europe. Neither Hungary, nor the Milaneze, nor Sicily, nor Sardinia, nor Ireland, nor Norway, could enter into any political Competition with the rich Provinces of Flanders, Haynault, and Brabant. Brussels consti-

tuted one of the most pleasing, as well as elegant, Courts of the Continent; its local Position, almost central between Germany, Holland, France, and England, rendering it far more important in a diplomatic point of view, than either Venice, Turin, Warsaw, or Naples; perhaps I might add, even than Copenhagen or Stockholm. Prince Charles of Lorraine having been bred to the profession of Arms from his early youth, and possessing an athletic frame of Body, united with unquestionable personal Courage, had more than once nominally commanded the Austrian Armies. His passage of the Rhine in 1744, and his irruption into Alsace, acquired him a degree of Reputation, which he by no means afterwards preserved during the memorable "Seven Years War." To Frederic, King of Prussia, he formed indeed a most unequal Antagonist, as that great Prince sufficiently proved at the Battle of Lissa in December, 1757, where he defeated the Austrians, and on many other Occasions. When I was presented to Prince Charles, in August, 1779, he might be regarded as performing the last of the Seven Ages of Man, and as sinking fast into "mere Oblivion." At his Levee he seemed apparently unconscious of

any thing beyond the mere Ceremony of the Hour, even his speech and articulation being rendered very indistinct by a paralytic Affection. He expired in the following Summer, at his Palace in the Vicinity of Brussels, regretted by the Flemings for his Moderation ; and was succeeded in the Government general of the Netherlands, by the Archduchess Christina, the favorite Daughter of the Empress Queen Maria Theresa.

Never did a deeper political Gloom overspread England, than in the Autumn of 1779, when I arrived in London from the Continent. I question, whether at the time of the Destruction of the Ships of war lying in the Medway, burnt by the Dutch, under Charles the Second ; or after the Defeat of the English and Dutch combined Fleets by the French, off Beachy-Head, in 1690, under William and Mary ; which constitute two of the most calamitous Epochas in our History ; greater Despondency, Consternation, and general Dissatisfaction, prevailed throughout the Kingdom. The disgraceful naval Campaign of 1778, in which Keppel's Engagement off Ushant, forms the principal or only feature ; had been succeeded by another

year of Hostilities, still more humiliating to Great Britain. D'Orvilliers, at the head of the Fleets of France and Spain, rode Master of the Channel for a considerable time; and the total want of Enterprize, or of Information on their part, alone saved the Town, as well as the Dock-yards at Plymouth, from falling into the enemy's possession. Not only was the place in want of many indispensable Articles requisite to repel an Attack: even flints for supplying the Muskets, however incredible the fact may appear, were deficient. Sir Charles Hardy, who commanded our Fleet; inferior in number of Ships, and unapprized of the Enemy's approach to the Coast of England, remained quietly cruizing in the Atlantic, while they thus menaced our Shores. Happily, the defect of Intelligence, or want of mutual Confidence, in the combined Squadrons, supplied every Ministerial neglect; and extricated the Country from a Calamity, which, had it taken place, must have shaken not only the Administration, but would have convulsed the Throne itself. Faction did not however less pervade the Navy, where the respective Adherents of Keppel and of Palliser, carried their reciprocal rancour to

the utmost height. The American War, after four unsuccessful Campaigns, began to grow odious to the Nation : while the Administration, depressed under the weight of a Contest, to which the Talents of the great Earl of Chatham might have been found unequal, did not manifest or exert the Energy demanded by the nature of the Emergency. Even the King, notwithstanding a Display of private Virtues, which since Charles the First had not been exhibited by any Sovereign of Great Britain, not even by William the Third, yet fully participated in the unpopularity of his Ministers. As he was supposed to feel a more than common interest in effecting the reduction of his revolted Subjects, so he was believed to exert a more than ordinary personal influence over the Cabinet which directed the Operations of the War.

After the return of Lord Howe in 1778, from his unsuccessful Campaigns in America, the supreme naval Command on that Coast, as well as in the West Indies, devolved on Admiral Byron. He was a Brother of Lord Byron, whose fatal Duel with Mr. Chaworth rendered him unfortunately too conspicuous in the Journals of the House of



Peers. At an early period of his life, having been wrecked on the desert Coast of Patagonia, not far from Cape Horn, with Captain Cheap, in the "Wager" Frigate, he there endured those inconceivable hardships, of which he has left us an interesting Narrative. An intrepid and skilful, no less than an experienced naval Officer, he was nevertheless deficient in the Judgment, Promptitude, and decision of Character, requisite for conducting the Operations of a numerous Fleet. On the element of the Water, an evil destiny seemed invariably to accompany him, from his first Expedition under Commodore Anson, down to the close of his professional life. So well was this fact known in the Navy, that the Sailors bestowed on him the name of "Foul Weather Jack," and esteemed themselves certain of stormy Weather, whenever they sailed under his Command. From the time of his leaving England in 1778, till his return about two years afterwards, all the Tempests of the deep seemed to have conspired against him. No Man could less say of Himself, with Æolus, or rather with Holstenius,

*"Ventorumque facis Tempestatumque potentem ;"*

Virgil having written the line,

*"Nimborumque facis Tempestatumque potentem."*

During the Action which Byron fought with D'Estaing, in July, 1779, off Grenada, all the characteristic valour of the British was displayed, not only by the Crews, but, by the Captains and their Commander. Yet the Honors of the day were divided, while the Advantages of it were reaped by France; though the slaughter of Men on the side of the French, prodigiously exceeded our loss. But, the West India Islands, one after another, fell into the Enemy's hands; and after the Surrender of Grenada, when D'Estaing quitted Martinico, to carry the Arms of Louis the Sixteenth against Savannah, the Capital of Georgia, he triumphantly swept the Coast of America. We must reluctantly confess, that the Navy of England at this period of the present Reign, had sunk to a point of Depression hardly conceivable, when compared with the Times of Hawke, Saunders, and Boscawen; or if placed near the still more splendid period of Jervis, Duncan, and Nelson. We may incline to attribute so extraordinary a Contrast, to the errors or inability of Lord North's Administration: the

popular voice, I well know, sanctioned that accusation: but, its Cause lay principally in the nature of the Contest, which depressing the national Energy, and dividing the public Opinion, unnerved the British Spirit, and allowed France, during near four years, from 1778 to 1782, aided by Spain, to make such Exertions, as acquired them a temporary Ascendant on the Ocean. Byron, recalled from his Command, soon afterwards revisited England, and his Name occurs no more in our naval History: but, it has derived new Celebrity in the present Times, from the poetic Eminence to which his Grandson has attained, by Productions emulating, perhaps surpassing, the fame of Spenser, of Gray, of Mason, and of Scott.

To Byron, succeeded Rodney, who fills so distinguished a place during the unfortunate Period of the American War: a naval Commander as much distinguished by the prosperous Fatality which attended him, as Byron seemed to be under the influence of an unlucky Planet. Cardinal Mazarin, who, before he employed any Individual, always asked, "*Est-il heureux?*" had he been First Minister of England, might have selected

Rodney for active Service, upon that principle, from among all the Admirals in the Navy. His Person was more elegant than seemed to become his rough Profession. There was even something that approached to delicacy and effeminacy in his figure: but no man manifested a more temperate and steady Courage in Action. I had the honor to live in great personal Intimacy with him, and have often heard him declare, that superiority to Fear was not in him the physical effect of Constitution; on the contrary, no man being more sensible by Nature to that Passion, than himself: but, that he surmounted it from the Considerations of Honor and public Duty. Like the famous Marshal Villars, he justly incurred the reputation of being "*glorieux et bavard*;" making himself frequently the theme of his own Discourse. He talked much and freely upon every Subject; concealed nothing in the course of Conversation, regardless who were present; and dealt his censures, as well as his praises, with imprudent liberality; qualities which necessarily procured him many Enemies, particularly in his own Profession. Throughout his whole life, two Passions, both highly injurious to his repose, the Love of Women and

of Play, carried him into many Excesses. It was universally believed that he had been distinguished in his youth, by the personal Attachment of the Princess Amelia, Daughter of George the Second, who displayed the same partiality for Rodney, which her Cousin, the Princess Amelia of Prussia, manifested for Trenck. A living evidence of the former Connexion existed, unless Fame had recourse to Fiction for support. But, Detraction, in every Age, from Elizabeth down to the present Times, has not spared the most illustrious Females.

The Gaming Table had proved more ruinous in its effects to Rodney, and that Indulgence compelled him, after quitting England, to take refuge at Paris. So great was his pecuniary Distress while he resided in the French Capital, as to induce him to send over his second Wife to London, early in 1777, with the view of procuring a Subscription to be opened among the Members of the Club at White's, for his relief. Lady Rodney finding it however impracticable to raise any Supplies from that source; after much ineffectual Solicitation among Sir George's former friends, finally renounced

the Attempt. The old Marshal de Biron having soon afterwards, by an act of liberality, enabled Rodney to revisit his Country, he made the strongest Applications to the Admiralty, for Employment. His private Circumstances, indeed, imperiously demanded every exertion, when he was named, towards the Autumn of 1779, to command the Expedition then fitting out at Portsmouth, for the West Indies. I passed much time with him, at his residence in Cleveland Row, St. James's, down to the very Moment of his Departure. Naturally sanguine and confident, he anticipated in his daily Conversation, with a sort of certainty, the future Success which he should obtain over the Enemy; and he had not only already conceived, but he had delineated on paper, the naval Manœuvre of breaking, or intersecting the Line, to which he afterwards was indebted in an eminent degree, for his brilliant Victory over De Grasse:—a Manœuvre then new in maritime Tactics, though now become familiar to us; and which Nelson practised with such decisive Effect, in the Battle of the Nile, as well as on other Occasions. Rodney possessed no superior intellectual parts; but, unlike Keppel, his enter-

prizing Spirit always impelled him rather to risk, than to act with Caution, when in presence of an Enemy. The ardor of his Character supplied in some degree, the physical defects of his Health and Constitution, already impaired by various causes : while his happy Audacity, directed by the nautical Skill of others, controled by Science, and propelled by favorable Circumstances, at length enabled him to dissipate the Gloom that had so long overhung our naval Annals, at the same time that he covered himself with great personal Glory.

The Ministry sustained about this time, a diminution of strength, and a loss of talents, in the House of Peers, which an Administration so unpopular could ill afford, by the defection of Lord Lyttelton, who suddenly went over to the side of Opposition. His Decease not less sudden in its nature, took place immediately afterwards. He was a man of very considerable parliamentary Abilities, who, notwithstanding the many glaring vices of his private Character, might have made a conspicuous political figure, if he had not been carried off in the prime of life. His Father, the first Lord Lyttelton, well

known as an Historian and a Poet; derived not less respect in his private Capacity, from the Elevation of his Mind, and his many domestic Virtues. The second Lord Lyttelton, by the profligacy of his Conduct, and the abuse of his Talents, seemed to emulate Dryden's Duke of Buckingham, or Pope's Duke of Wharton; both of whom he resembled in the superiority of his natural Endowments, as well as in the peculiarity of his End. Villiers, the "Zimri" of Dryden's Poem of "Absalom and Achitophel;" after exhausting his health, and squandering his immense fortune in every species of Excess or Riot, expired, as is well known, at a wretched Tenement, on his own Estate near Helmsley in Yorkshire, abandoned by all his former Followers or Admirers. Wharton, who acted a part under George the First, hardly less distinguished or eccentric, than Villiers had performed under Charles the Second; prematurely terminated his equally extraordinary Career, exiled and attainted, among the Pyrenees, in an obscure Monastery of Catalonia; worn out, like Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, by his pursuit of Pleasures. Lyttelton, when scarcely thirty-six, breathed his last at a country House near Epsom, called



Pit Place, from its Situation in a Chalk-pit; where he witnessed, as he conceived, a supernatural Appearance.

Having gone down there for purposes of recreation, with a gay party of both Sexes, several Individuals among whom I personally knew; he had retired to Bed, when a noise which resembled the fluttering of a Dove or Pigeon, heard at his Chamber window, attracted his Attention. He then saw, or thought he saw, a female figure, which approaching the foot of the Bed, announced to him that in three Days precisely from that time, he should be called away from this state of Existence. In whatever manner the supposed Intimation was conveyed, whether by sound or by impression, it is certain that Lord Lyttelton considered the Circumstance as real; that he mentioned it as such, to those persons who were in the House with him; that it deeply affected his Mind, and that he died on the third Night, at the predicted Hour. About four years afterwards, in the year 1783, dining at Pit Place, I had the Curiosity to visit the Bed-chamber, where the Casement window, at which, as Lord Lyttelton asserted, the Dove appeared to

flutter, was pointed out to me. And at his Step-mother's, the Dowager Lady Lyttelton's House in Portugal-Street, Grosvenor Square, who being a woman of very lively Imagination, lent an implicit faith to all the supernatural facts, which were supposed to have accompanied or produced Lord Lyttelton's End; I have frequently seen a Painting, which she herself executed in 1780, intended expressly to commemorate the Event. It hung in a conspicuous part of her Drawing-room. There, the Dove appears at the Window; while a female figure, habited in white, stands at the Bed foot, announcing to Lord Lyttelton his approaching Dissolution. Every part of the Picture was faithfully designed after the Description given her by the Valet de Chambre who attended him, to whom his Master related all the Circumstances. This man assured Lady Lyttelton, that on the Night indicated, Lord Lyttelton, who, notwithstanding his endeavours to surmount the Impression, had suffered under great depression of spirits during the three preceding Days, retired to Bed before twelve o'Clock. Having ordered the Valet to mix him some Rhubarb, he sat up in the Bed, apparently in Health, intending to swallow

the Medicine; but, being in want of a Teaspoon, which the Servant had neglected to bring, his Master, with a strong expression of Impatience, sent him for a Spoon. He was not absent from the room more than the space of a Minute; but, when he returned, Lord Lyttelton, who had fallen back, lay motionless in that Attitude. No efforts to restore Animation, were attended with Success. Whether therefore his Death was occasioned by any new Attack upon his nerves, or happened in consequence of an Apoplectic or other Seizure, must remain matter of Uncertainty and Conjecture.

It is however to be observed, that the Lyttelton Family, either from constitutional nervous Irritability, or from other Causes, was peculiarly susceptible of Impressions similar to the shock which seems to have produced Lord Lyttelton's End. His Father, though a man of very distinguished Talents, as well as of high moral Principle, manifested great Credulity, as I have been assured, on the subject of Apparitions: and his Cousin, Miss Lyttelton, who married the present Sir Richard Hoare, died in a way somewhat similar, about four years later, at his beau-

tiful Seat of Stourhead in the County of Wilts. The second Lord Lyttelton's life had likewise been of a nature and description so licentious, not to say abandoned, as to subject him continually to the keenest reproaches of an accusing Conscience. This domestic Spectre, which accompanied him every where, was known to have given rise, while on his Travels, particularly at Lyons, to Scenes greatly resembling his last Moments. Among the Females who had been the objects and the victims of his temporary Attachment, was a Mrs. Dawson, whose fortune, as well as her honor and reputation, fell a sacrifice to her Passion. Being soon forsaken by him, she did not long survive; and distress of Mind was known to have accelerated, if not to have produced, her Death. It was her Image which haunted his pillow, and was supposed by him to have announced his approaching Dissolution, at Pit Place.

Lord North who had presided during ten years at the head of Administration, continued in the Spring of 1780, to struggle with the utmost Difficulty through the Sixth Session of Parliament, against a numerous and

augmenting Opposition in both Houses. His Resignation, anxiously anticipated by his political Enemies, seemed to be inevitable, and even imminent: but, the ministerial Disgraces, as well as the Triumphs of the adverse Party, were equally obliterated in a Calamity, which for the time of its duration, absorbed all Attention.—I mean, the Riots of June, 1780. No Event commemorated in our Annals, bears any Analogy with the Scene then exhibited in the Capital, except the Fire of London under Charles the Second. Even that Misfortune wanted some of the melancholy and sanguinary Features, which characterized the Tumults in question. During the Conflagration of 1666, whatever Stories may have been invented by party rage, or inscribed at the Time on public Monuments by religious Antipathy, the Inhabitants had only to contend with the progress of a devouring Element. In 1780, the flames were originally kindled, as well as rendered far more destructive, by a Populace of the lowest and vilest description, who carried with them, wherever they moved, the materials of universal Ruin. It was only in their Blood, by the interposition of an overwhelming military Force, that the Convulsion became

finally arrested; and that London, after being desolated by fire, was rescued from Plunder, Bankruptcy, and Subversion. Even the French Revolution, which from July, 1789, down to April, 1814, either under the forms of a Republic, or of a military Despotism, has presented to Mankind a pattern of every Crime revolting and degrading to human Nature; yet did not produce in the Capital of France, any similar Outrages. At Lyons, it must be admitted that Collot d'Herbois in 1793, exercised the most savage vengeance on the Buildings of the City, as well as on the unfortunate Inhabitants. But, neither Robespierre, nor Bonaparte, though the former Ruffian converted the Metropolis into a Charnel-house; and though the Vengeance, or atrocious Ambition of the latter Adventurer, has covered Europe with human Bones, from the Tagus to the Moskwa; yet ever directed their destructive Efforts against the public and private Edifices of Paris.

I was personally present at many of the most tremendous effects of the popular fury, on the memorable 7th of June, the Night on which it attained its highest point. About

nine o'Clock on that Evening, accompanied by three other Gentlemen, who, as well as myself, were alarmed at the accounts brought in every Moment, of the Outrages committed ; and of the still greater acts of Violence meditated, as soon as Darkness should favor and facilitate their further progress ; we set out from Portland-place, in order to view the Scene. Having got into a Hackney-coach, we drove first to Bloomsbury-square ; attracted to that Spot by a Rumor generally spread, that Lord Mansfield's residence, situate at the North-east Corner, was either already burnt, or destined for destruction. Hart Street and Great Russel-Street presented, each, to the view, as we passed, large Fires composed of Furniture taken from the Houses of Magistrates, or other obnoxious Individuals. Quitting the Coach, we crossed the Square, and had scarcely got under the wall of Bedford House, when we heard the Door of Lord Mansfield's House burst open with violence. In a few Minutes, all the contents of the Apartments being precipitated from the Windows, were piled up, and wrapt in flames. A file of foot-Soldiers arriving, drew up near the blazing pile ; but, without either attempt-

ing to quench the fire, or to impede the Mob, who were indeed far too numerous to admit of being dispersed, or even intimidated, by a small Detachment of Infantry. The Populace remained masters ; while we, after surveying the Spectacle for a short time, moved on into Holborn, where Mr. Langdale's dwelling House and Warehouses afforded a more appalling picture of Devastation. They were altogether enveloped in Smoke and Flame. In front had assembled an immense multitude of both Sexes, many of whom were Females, and not a few held infants in their arms. All appeared to be, like ourselves, attracted as Spectators solely by Curiosity, without taking any part in the acts of violence. Spirituous Liquors in great Quantity ran down the kennel of the Street, and numbers of the populace were already intoxicated with this Beverage. So little Disposition, however, did they manifest to riot or pillage, that it would have been difficult to conceive who were the Authors and Perpetrators of such enormous Mischief, if we had not distinctly seen at the Windows of the House, Men, who while the floors and rooms were on fire, calmly tore down the furniture, and threw it into the Street, or



tossed it into the flames. They experienced no kind of Opposition, during a considerable time that we remained at this place : but, a party of the Horse Guards arriving, the terrified Crowd instantly began to disperse ; and we, anxious to gratify our farther Curiosity, continued our progress on foot, along Holborn, towards Fleet-Market.

I would in vain attempt adequately to describe the Spectacle which presented itself, when we reached the declivity of the Hill, close to St. Andrew's Church. The other House and Magazines of Mr. Langdale, who, as a Catholic, had been selected for the blind vengeance of the Mob ; situated in the hollow space near the North end of Fleet-Market, threw up into the Air a pinnacle of flame resembling a Volcano. Such was the beautiful and brilliant effect of the Illumination, that St. Andrew's Church appeared to be almost scorched by the heat of so prodigious a body of Fire ; and the figures designated on the Clock, were as distinctly perceptible as at noon-day. It resembled indeed a Tower, rather than a private Building, in a state of Conflagration ; and would have inspired the Beholder with a Sentiment

of admiration allied to pleasure, if it had been possible to separate the object, from its causes and its consequences. The Wind did not however augment its rage on this Occasion; for the Night was serene, and the Sky unclouded, except when it became obscured by the volumes of Smoke, which, from time to time produced a temporary Darkness. The Mob, which completely blocked up the whole Street in every part, and in all directions, prevented our approaching within fifty or sixty yards of the Building; but, the Populace, though still principally composed of persons allured by Curiosity, yet evidently began here to assume a more disorderly and ferocious Character. Troops, either horse or foot, we still saw none; nor, in the midst of this Combination of tumult, terror, and violence, had the ordinary Police ceased to continue its functions. While we stood by the wall of St. Andrew's Church-yard, a Watchman, with his lanthorn in his hand, passed us, calling the Hour, as if in a time of profound Tranquillity.

Finding it altogether impracticable to force our way any further down Holborn-Hill, and hearing that the Fleet Prison had

been set on fire; we penetrated through a number of narrow lanes, behind St. Andrew's Church, and presently found ourselves in the middle of Fleet-Market. Here, the same Destruction raged, but in a different stage of its progress. Mr. Langdale's two Houses were already at the height of their demolition: the Fleet Prison on the contrary was only beginning to blaze, and the Sparks or flaming particles that filled the Air, fell so thick upon us on every side, as to render unsafe its immediate vicinity. Meanwhile we began to hear the Platoons discharged on the other side of the River, towards St. George's Fields; and were informed, that a considerable number of the Rioters had been killed on Black-friars Bridge, which was occupied by the Troops. On approaching it, we beheld the King's Bench Prison completely enveloped in flames. It exhibited a sublime Sight, and we might be said there to stand in a central point, from whence London offered on every side, before, as well as behind us, the picture of a City sacked and abandoned to a ferocious Enemy. The Shouts of the populace, the Cries of women, the crackling of the fires, the Blaze reflected in the Stream of the

Thames, and the irregular firing which was kept up both in St. George's Fields, as well as towards the Quarter of the Mansion-House, and the Bank ;—all these Sounds or Images combined, left scarcely any thing for the Imagination to supply ; presenting to the view every recollection, which the classic Descriptions of Troy or of Rome, in the Page of Virgil, or of Tacitus, have impressed on the mind in youth, but which I so little expected to see exemplified in the Capital of Great Britain.

Not yet satisfied, and hearing that an obstinate Conflict was going on at the Bank, between the Soldiery and the Rioters, we determined, if possible, to reach that Spot. We accordingly proceeded through St. Paul's Church-yard towards it, and had advanced without impediment to the Poultry, within about sixty paces of the Mansion House, when our progress was stopped by a Centinel, who acquainted us that the Mob had been repulsed in their attempt upon the Bank ; but, that we could penetrate no further in that direction, as his Orders were peremptory, not to suffer the passage of any person. Cheapside, silent

and empty, unlike the Streets that we had visited, presented neither the appearance of Tumult, nor of Confusion; though to the East, West, and South, all was Disorder. This Contrast formed not the least striking Circumstance of the Moment. Prevented thus from approaching any nearer to the Bank, finding the Day begin to break, satiated in some measure with the Scenes which we had witnessed, and wearied by so long a peregrination, which, from our first alighting near Bloomsbury Square, had all been performed on foot; we resolved to return to the west end of the Town. On Ludgate Hill we were fortunate enough to meet with a Hackney Coach, which conveyed us safely back, about four o'Clock in the Morning.

It is impossible for the most prejudiced person, without violating truth, to accuse the Opposition of having had any participation as a Body, direct or indirect, in these Outrages. They were indeed, themselves, individually, the objects of popular prejudice and violence, not less than the Ministers; Sir George Savile's House in Leicester Square, having been one of the first Buildings assailed and plundered by the Mob.

Devonshire House in Piccadilly, menaced with the same fate, was considered as so insecure, that the Duchess of Devonshire yielding to her fears, did not venture to remain in it after dusk, for a considerable time. She took refuge at Lord Clermont's in Berkeley Square, where she deemed herself safe from Attack ; and lay down for successive Nights, on a Sofa, or a small tent Bed, placed in the Drawing-room. Many other persons of both Sexes, of the highest rank, either quitted their own Dwellings, or sent their most valuable Effects and Jewels into the Country. The first Minister, Lord North, passed that alarming Night, at his official Residence in Downing Street ; accompanied by a few Friends, who had repaired thither to offer him their personal Aid, if Circumstances should render it necessary for his protection.

One of those Gentlemen, Sir John Macpherson, has often recounted to me the Particulars of that memorable Evening, which I shall give in his own words, and which will be perused with no common Interest. " A Day or two before the 7th of June," said he, " Count Maltzahn, the Prussian

" Minister at our Court, called on me at  
" Kensington Gore, where I then resided,  
" and informed me that the Mob had de-  
" termined to attack the Bank. He added,  
" that the fact had come to his knowledge  
" through an authentic Channel, on the Ac-  
" curacy of which I might depend. Having  
" conveyed this Intelligence immediately to  
" Lord North, I received on the Morning of  
" that Day, an intimation to be at his House  
" in Downing Street at Dinner. When I  
" got there, I found Mr. Eden, (since cre-  
" ated Lord Auckland,) the Honorable  
" General Simon Fraser, the Honorable  
" John St. John, and Colonel North, after-  
" wards Earl of Guilford. Mr. Brummell,  
" Lord North's private Secretary, who lived  
" likewise in the same Street, was in At-  
" tendance, but did not make one of the  
" Company. We sat down at Table, and  
" Dinner had scarcely been removed, when  
" Downing Square, through which there is  
" no Outlet, became thronged with people,  
" who manifested a Disposition, or rather  
" a Determination, to proceed to Acts of  
" Outrage. Lord North, with his habitual  
" good humor, observed to me, ' You see,  
" Macpherson, here is much Confusion.

“ Who commands the upper Tier? ’ I  
“ do,’ answered Colonel North, ‘ and I  
“ have got twenty or more Grenadiers well  
“ armed, stationed above stairs, who are  
“ ready on the first Order, to fire upon  
“ the Mob.’ General Fraser sat silent;  
“ while Mr. Eden, whose House was situ-  
“ ated on the opposite side of the Square,  
“ only remarked calmly to Colonel North,  
“ that if the Grenadiers fired, their shot  
“ would probably enter his Windows. The  
“ Tumult without Doors still continuing,  
“ and it being uncertain from one Minute  
“ to another, whether the populace might  
“ not proceed to Extremities; Lord North  
“ said to me, ‘ What is to be done, Mac-  
“ pherson? ’ My Opinion,’ answered I, ‘ is  
“ to send out two or three persons, who  
“ mixing among the Crowd, may acquaint  
“ them that there are Troops posted in the  
“ House, ready, without waiting for the Riot  
“ Act being read, to fire on them, the instant  
“ that they commit any Outrage; exhorting  
“ them at the same time, for their own  
“ sakes, to disperse peaceably without  
“ Delay. But,’ added I, ‘ *Nous parlons de*  
“ *la Guerre devant Annibal.* Here sits  
“ General Fraser, who knows far better



“ than any of us, what is wisest to be done,  
“ and who has not yet opened his Mouth.’  
“ The Populace continued to fill the little  
“ Square, and became very noisy ; but, they  
“ never attempted to force the street Door.  
“ Mr. St. John held a Pistol in his Hand ;  
“ and Lord North, who never lost an occasion of jesting, exclaimed, ‘ I am not  
“ half so much afraid of the Mob, as of  
“ Jack St. John’s Pistol.’ By degrees, as  
“ the Evening advanced, the People, informed, from various Quarters, that there  
“ were Soldiers posted in the House, prepared to fire if they committed any violence ; began to cool, and afterwards gradually to disperse without further Effort.  
“ We then sat down again quietly at the  
“ Table, and finished our Wine.

“ Night coming on, and the Capital presenting a scene of Tumult or Conflagration  
“ in many various Quarters, Lord North, accompanied by us all, mounted to the  
“ top of the House, where we beheld London blazing in seven places, and could  
“ hear the Platoons regularly firing in various Directions. ‘ What is your opinion  
“ of the remedy for this Evil?’ said Lord

“ North to me. ‘ I should try, my Lord,’  
“ answered I, ‘ to effect a Junction, or to  
“ open some Communication, with the Heads  
“ of Opposition, for the protection of the  
“ Country.’ ‘ You talk,’ replied he, ‘ as  
“ if the thing could be done ; but, it is not  
“ practicable.’ I know however that a Day  
“ or two afterwards, notwithstanding the  
“ Opinion so given by Lord North, he and  
“ Mr. Fox personally met ; the former accompanied by Brummell, and the latter  
“ by Sheridan, behind the Scenes at the  
“ Opera House in the Haymarket, at Eleven  
“ in the forenoon. They held a Conference  
“ there ; but, of the nature of the Conversation  
“ which passed between them, I am  
“ wholly ignorant.” Such was Sir John  
Macpherson’s account of the Circumstances  
to which he was an eye-witness, at that  
Moment of public Calamity. He now remains  
the only Survivor of the Company  
that was convened in Downing Street, since  
the Decease of Lord Auckland.

Lord George Germain, like the first Minister, having assembled some Friends for the Purpose, barricaded the passages and entrance, to his House in Pall Mall, which

was very susceptible of Defence; after which, he coolly waited for the Attack of the populace. But, the Rioters were too well informed of the precautions taken, to venture making any attempt on him. Even the King himself remained on foot, during the far greater part of that memorable Night, which he passed between Buckingham House and the Royal Manege contiguous; into the latter of which Buildings, a Detachment of the Horse Guards had been early admitted, who were ready to have sallied out upon the Insurgents. No Man who knows the steadiness and firmness which His Majesty has since displayed in the most trying Situations, when his person has been exposed to Danger; can doubt that he would have given on that Occasion; had it been unfortunately necessary, the strongest proofs of Courage. He would not have acted the tame and irresolute part which Louis the Sixteenth exhibited on the 10th of August, 1792; when, under similar Circumstances, surrounded by a savage Jacobin Mob, instead of defending himself to the last Extremity, as he was bound to have done not only by every Principle of Self-preservation, but from Regard to the Interests of the French Monarchy;—

he abandoned the defence of his Palace, and of his Family, to take refuge in the National Assembly. George the Third had embraced the resolution of repelling force by force, in case of necessity, and of perishing in support of the Laws, of civil Order, and regular Government, rather than survive their Extinction. But, happily, no Attempt was made by the Populace, to attack any part of the Queen's House or Offices.

Various were the Opinions and Assertions hazarded, relative to the numbers that perished in the Riots, between the third and the seventh of June, 1780 : but, as no certain Data can be obtained, beyond the official returns of killed and wounded, the amount must always remain matter of Conjecture. Probably, it far exceeded the Computation commonly made; and from the concurring Testimony of those persons who were most competent to form a sound Judgment, I believe it would not be over-rated at seven hundred Individuals, killed and wounded. The Slaughter was most considerable at the King's Bench, at the Bank, and on Blackfriars Bridge. Colonel de Burgh, a Son of the Earl of Clanrickard, commanded one

of the Regiments sent to St. George's Fields. All the Troops did their duty, notwithstanding the efforts which the Populace exerted to seduce them, by calling on them as Protestants, and invoking their aid or their protection. Many of the Soldiers, in reply to these Blandishments, exclaimed, that they would not hurt the Mob. A great Nobleman, now alive, who, like myself, was a Spectator of all the scenes of Devastation committed on that Night; told me that he felt strong Doubts whether De Burgh's Regiment would actually draw the Trigger. Impressed with that Conviction, he mentioned his Apprehensions on the point, to the Colonel; who instantly replied, that he knew his Men, and could rely on their prompt Obedience. The Event justified his Confidence: for, no sooner had he given the word of command to fire, than, levelling their Pieces, they soon compelled the Rioters to seek their safety in immediate Dispersion. If the "Gardes Francaises" in 1789, had behaved like our regular Troops in 1780, the French Revolution might have been suppressed in its Birth; and Europe would not have groaned during fourteen years, under the accumulated Calamities inflicted on it by

Benaparte. But, the difference of Character between the two Sovereigns of Great Britain and of France, constituted one great cause of the different Fate that attended the two Monarchies. George the Third, when attacked, prepared to defend his Throne, his Family, his Country, and the Constitution entrusted to his care. They were in fact principally saved by his Decision. Louis the Sixteenth tamely abandoned all to a ferocious demoralized Populace, who sent him to the Scaffold. No man of Courage or of Principle, could have quitted the former Prince. It was impossible to save, or to rescue, the latter ill-fated, yielding, and passive Monarch.

Many of the Rioters, who fell at Blackfriars Bridge, or in its Vicinity, where the Slaughter was most considerable, were immediately thrown over into the Thames, by their Companions. The Carnage which took place at the Bank likewise was great, though not of very long Duration; and in order to conceal as much as possible, the magnitude of the number, as well as the names of the persons who perished, similar Precautions were taken on both sides. All the dead

Bodies being carried away during the Night, were precipitated into the River. Even the impressions made by the Musket Balls, on the Houses opposite to the Bank, were as much as possible erased on the following Morning, and the Buildings whitewashed. Government and the Rioters seem to have felt an equal Disposition, by drawing a veil over the extent of the Calamity, to bury it in profound Darkness. To Colonel Holroyd, since deservedly raised to the British Peerage as Lord Sheffield, and to his Regiment of Militia, the Country was eminently indebted for repelling the fury of the Mob at the Bank; where, during some Moments, the Conflict seemed doubtful, and the Assailants had nearly forced an Entrance. Lord Algernon Percy, since created Earl of Beverley, marched likewise at the head of the Northumberland Militia, to the same Spot. Their Arrival, together with the energy, promptitude, and decision which Colonel Holroyd manifested, principally conduced to ensure the Safety of that great National Establishment. Lord Sheffield, by his commercial Disquisitions, and agricultural Pursuits or Productions, has since rendered scarcely less important Services to his Country. Nor

ought he to be forgotten in another Capacity, as the Friend and the Biographer of *Gibbon*, whose mortal Remains repose under his Protection, at Sheffield Place in Sussex. Numbers of the Insurgents concealed their Wounds, in order to evade discovery of the part which they had taken in the Disorders of the Capital. It is however indisputable, that almost all who perished, were of a low and obscure Description.

If the Populace had been conducted by Leaders of System or Ability, London must have been fundamentally overturned on that Night. The Bank, the India House, and the Shops of the great Bankers, would in that case have been early attacked; instead of throwing away their rage, as they did, on Popish Chapels, private Houses, and Prisons. When they began, after their first Fury had exhausted itself, to direct their Blows more systematically and skilfully, the time for Action was passed. Government, which was accused, perhaps with reason, of having appeared supine during the first Days of June; awoke early enough to preserve the Metropolis and Public Credit, from sustaining the last shock of popular Violence.



In fact, from the Instant that the three Bridges over the Thames were occupied by regular Troops, the danger was at an end. This awful Convulsion, which, on Wednesday, the *seventh* of June, seemed to menace the Destruction of every thing; was so completely quelled, and so suddenly extinguished, that on the *eighth*, hardly a Spark survived of the popular Effervescence. Some few persons in the Borough of Southwark, attempted to repeat the Outrages of Wednesday; but they were easily and immediately quelled by the military force. Never was a Contrast exhibited more striking, than between those two Evenings, in the same City! The Patroles of Cavalry, stationed in the Squares and great Streets, throughout the West End of the Town, gave London the Aspect of a Garrison: while the Camp which was immediately afterwards formed in St. James's Park, afforded a picturesque landscape; both sides of the Canal, from the Queen's House down to the vicinity of the Horse Guards, being covered with Tents and Troops.

The common Danger, which united all Parties for the time, extinguished, or at least

suspended in some measure, even the virulence of political Enmity. Alarmed at the prospect of impending Destruction, some of the principal Leaders of the Opposition repaired, unasked, to St. James's, under pretence of offering their Services to the Administration; nearly as the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle had done in the last Days of July, 1714, when Queen Anne lay insensible, near her End. The Marquis of Rockingham hearing that a Privy Council was summoned to meet on the Morning of the 7th of June, which Assembly, all who enjoyed seats at that Board, were invited to attend; made his appearance in an undress, his Hair disordered, and with testimonies of great Consternation. Nor did he, when seated at the Table, where the King was present, spare the Ministers, for having, as he asserted, by their negligence, or want of timely energy, allowed the Assemblage of People to take place in St. George's Fields, which original Meeting led to all the subsequent Outrages. It is nevertheless incontestable, that to the Decision manifested by His Majesty on that occasion, the Safety of the Metropolis, and its Extrication from all the Calamities that impended over it, was princi-

pally, if not solely to be ascribed. Elizabeth, or William the Third, could not have displayed more calm and systematic Courage in the highest sense of the term, than George the Third exhibited in so trying a Moment. Far from throwing himself for support or guidance on his Cabinet, as a Prince of feeble Character would have done; he came forward, and exhibited an example of self-devotion to his Ministers.

It is well known that at the Council to which I have alluded, the King assisted in person. The great Question was there discussed, on which hinged the protection and preservation of the Capital; a Question, respecting which, the first legal Characters were divided; and on which, Lord Mansfield himself was with reason accused of never having clearly expressed his Opinion up to that time. Doubts existed, whether Persons riotously collected together, and committing Outrages or Infractions of the Peace, however great, might legally be fired on by the military power, without staying previously to read the Riot Act. Lord Bathurst, President of the Council, and Sir Fletcher Norton, Speaker of the House of Commons, who were

both present; on being appealed to for their Opinion, declared that "a Soldier was not less a Citizen, because he was a Soldier, and consequently that he might repel Force by Force:" but, no Minister would sign the Order for the Purpose. In this Emergency, when every Moment was precious, — Mr. Wedderburn, since successively raised to the dignity of a Baron and of an Earl of Great Britain, who was then Attorney-general, having been called in to the Council Table, and ordered by the King to deliver his official Opinion on the point; stated in the most precise terms, that any such Assemblage might be dispersed by military force, without waiting for Forms, or reading the Act in Question. "Is that your Declaration of the Law, as Attorney-general?" said the King. Wedderburn answering decidedly in the affirmative, "Then so let it be done," rejoined His Majesty. The Attorney-general drew up the Order immediately, which the King signed, and on which Lord Amherst acted, the same Evening. The complete suppression of the Riots followed in the course of a few Hours. Never had any People a greater Obligation to the judicious Intrepidity of their Sovereign! If Louis the Sixteenth

would have acted with similar Decision and Self-Devotion, in the early Stages of the French Revolution, France might have been equally saved.

Nor ought we to deny the merit due to Wedderburn, for having with so much decision cut the Gordian Knot, which the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, either could not, or would not untie. His inexplicit Declarations on the subject, involuntarily remind us of the Accusations levelled against him by "Junius," when, speaking of Lord Mansfield, he says, "Besides his natural Timidity, it makes part of his political plan, never to be known to recommend violent Measures. When the Guards are called forth to murder their fellow Subjects, it is not by the ostensible Advice of Lord Mansfield." Here we see him in 1780, acting precisely as he had done twelve years earlier, in 1768. Nor is it a less curious and extraordinary Fact, that the very Exertion by which the King preserved London in June, 1780, from suffering the utmost extremities of violence and pillage, constitutes, *as a Principle*, the subject of "Junius's severest Reflections upon him, in March, 1770."

“ Did His Majesty,” says he, “ consult the  
“ Laws of this Country, when he permitted  
“ his Secretary of State to declare, that  
“ whenever the Civil Magistrate is trifled  
“ with, a military force must be sent for,  
“ *without the delay of a Moment*, and effec-  
“ tually employed?” So true is it, that at  
every period of his life, the King manifested  
the same consistency of Character, and su-  
periority to personal Apprehension. When  
nevertheless we reflect that in 1768, a Ma-  
gistrate of the County of Surrey, had been  
capitally accused and brought to trial, for  
ordering the Soldiery to fire on Rioters en-  
gaged in the most violent Acts of Outrage in  
St. George’s Fields, though the Riot Act had  
been twice read ; we cannot be surprized at  
the Apprehension displayed by Lord Mans-  
field, to sanction and authorize the same  
proceeding in 1780, nor ought we lightly to  
censure his Conduct. The Sovereign alone,  
as First Magistrate, impelled by the awful  
nature of the Emergency, and he only, could  
have taken upon him so serious a Respon-  
sibility.

No Individual manifested more Abhorrence  
of the Rioters, or exposed himself by his

Declarations on that subject, to more personal Danger, than Burke; whom his Enemies accused of having been brought up in the tenets or principles of the Romish Faith. This Conduct did him great honor, and proved him superior to the meanness of Party. His House in the Broad Sanctuary, Westminster, was threatened, but, not attacked. Fox contented himself with condemning the Authors of the Disorders, but took no active part, as a Member of the Legislature, in their Suppression. On the contrary, he refused to lend any personal Support to Government, when pressed in the House of Commons, to co-operate for the Extrication of the Capital; though Burke, who was there present, loudly expressed his wish for unanimity and association in that Moment of national Distress. It is impossible not to recollect, that as they thus diverged in different lines during the Riots of 1780, so in 1792, twelve years later, they exhibited a similar diversity of Conduct; Burke lending his powerful Aid to prop monarchical Government, while Fox remained the Advocate of Republicanism, and the Apologist of the French Revolution. Wilkes, who in the early part of His Majesty's reign,

had made so glorious a resistance to General Warrants, displayed as manly a resistance to popular Violence, during the whole progress of the Riots; and had he filled the chair of Chief Magistrate, instead of Kennett, would unquestionably, by his Vigor, have prevented many or all the disgraceful Scenes which took place in the Capital.

All the proofs given by Opposition, of their detestation for these calamitous Exhibitions of popular fury, did not, however, produce complete Conviction of their Sincerity. Many persons still believed, that some of the Parliamentary Leaders secretly fomented, or privately encouraged, the Rioters. Suspicions were in particular thrown on the Earl of Shelburne, probably with great Injustice. The natural expectation of effecting a change in Ministry, was imagined to suspend or supersede in certain Minds, every other Consideration; and it was even pretended, though on very insufficient grounds, that Peers did not scruple to take an active part in the worst Excesses of the Night of the seventh of June. Public Clamor selected the Earl of Effingham as an Object of Accusation. It was generally asserted, that



he had mingled with the Rioters on Black-friars Bridge; that he had there been mortally wounded, and his Body afterwards thrown into the River, by those of his own Party; but, not till he had been identified and recognized by his Dress, particularly by his laced Ruffles. Those who were acquainted with that Nobleman, and who knew his style of Dress, instantly detected the absurdity, as well as falsity of the Charge; for, no Man was ever less distinguished by any Ornaments of Apparel. His sudden Disappearance from London, where he certainly had been seen at the Commencement of the Riots; the general Ignorance in which people remained, of the place to which he had withdrawn; when added to his known, as well as violent, dislike to the Administration, and to the American War; of which He had exhibited a singular Proof, by renouncing his Profession and his Rank in the British Army, only a few Years earlier, rather than submit to serve against the Insurgents beyond the Atlantic;—all these Circumstances conduced, nevertheless, to maintain the Delusion for a considerable time. At the beginning of the ensuing Winter, he re-appeared in the House of Lords, in his usual Health; and stated to

his Acquaintance, that early in June, he had gone down to his seat of Grainge Hall in Yorkshire, where he had ever since resided. Such Persons as still remained incredulous, explained his Absence by saying that he had been hurt or wounded on the seventh of June; but, it is probable that the report originated altogether in Calumny.

Lord George Gordon, the primary Author of these Outrages, was not taken into custody, till two or three Days after they had been suppressed. Ministers were reproached with not having committed him to the Tower on the second of June, when he assembled, harangued, and excited the Mob to extort compliance with their Demands from the House of Commons. But, the attempt to seize, and to send him to prison, at a time when every Avenue to the House was thronged with Multitudes, when the Lobby overflowed with them, and when the Doors of the House itself might have been, every instant, forced in; would have formed an imprudent, not to say a dangerous Experiment. It is difficult to find any Instance in our Annals, when Parliament received a grosser Insult; or when the Members com-

posing both Houses, incurred a greater risk of falling victims to popular Violence. The Mobs of 1641, and of the following year, under Charles the First, directed their rage against the Sovereign and his principal Advisers, not against the Representatives of the Nation. Cromwell, when in 1653 he drove out and dissolved the Rump Parliament, offered no Outrage to their persons, but simply broke up the legislative Assembly by a military Force. The Tumults in 1733, when Sir Robert Walpole first attempted to introduce the Excise Laws, seem to form the nearest approach or similarity to the Proceedings in 1780; but, *longo Intervallo*.

It cannot be doubted that if the Populace had forced their way into the House of Commons, Lord George would not have survived to recount the Exploit. Many Members who were there present, justly indignant at his Conduct, threatened him with instant Death, as soon as any of the Rioters should burst open the Doors. The late Earl of Carnarvon, then Mr. Henry Herbert, followed him close, with that avowed Determination; and General Murray, Uncle to the present Duke of Athol, a Man whom I inti-

mately knew, and who, when incensed, was capable of executing the most desperate Resolution; held his Sword ready to pass it through Lord George's Body, on the first irruption of the Mob. It will always remain disputable, whether Ambition, Fanaticism, or Alienation of Mind, contributed most to the part which he acted, in assembling and inciting the people to acts of Violence. That he was not insensible to the political Consideration and Importance which he obtained from his personal influence over so vast a Multitude, cannot be questioned. To religious Enthusiasm or Conviction, something may perhaps be fairly attributed; but, more must be laid to the deranged state of his understanding, though no Circumstance in his Conduct or Deportment, could possibly subject him to be considered as insane. He appears in fact to have been perfectly master of himself, and in possession of all his Faculties, during every stage of the Riots: nor is it to be imagined that he either foresaw or intended any of the Outrages which were committed after the second of June. But, he had put in motion a Machine, of which he could not regulate or restrain the Movements: and unquestionably, the Mob which

set fire to London, was of a far more savage, as well as atrocious Description, than the original Assemblage of people who met in St. George's Fields. The late Lord Rodney, who was then an Officer in the Guards, told me, that having been sent on the Night of the 7th of June, to the defence of the Bank of England, at the head of a Detachment of his Regiment, he there found Lord George Gordon, who appeared anxiously endeavouring by Expostulation, to induce the populace to retire. As soon as Lord George saw Captain Rodney, he strongly expressed his concern at the acts of Violence committed; adding, that he was ready to take his stand by Captain Rodney's side, and to expose his Person to the utmost risk, in order to resist such Proceedings. Rodney, who distrusted however his Sincerity, and justly considered him as the original cause of all the Calamities, declined any Communication with him; only exhorting him, if he wished to stop the further effusion of Blood, and to prevent the destruction of the Bank, to exert himself in dispersing the furious Crowd. But, whatever might be his Inclination, he was altogether destitute of the Power. The military Force alone saved the

Bank from being plundered, and prevented the temporary subversion of the national Credit.

I knew Lord George Gordon well, and I once accompanied him from a party where we met, in Lower Grosvenor Street, at the late Lord Elcho's, to Ranelagh, in the Summer of 1782, in his own Coach. In his person he was thin, his Features regular, and his Complexion pale. His Manners were gentle, his Conversation agreeable, and he had the appearance, as well as the deportment, of a Man of Quality. There was however something in his cast of Countenance and mode of Expression, that indicated Cunning, or a perverted Understanding, or both. His whole Income consisted, I believe, in an Annuity of six hundred Pounds a year, paid him by the Duke of Gordon, his Brother. It forms a singular subject of reflection, that after involving London during several successive Days, in all the horrors of Insurrection and Anarchy, he should have escaped any punishment for these proceedings, which cost the lives of so many Individuals, and the demolition of so many Edifices; while he expiated by a rigorous Imprisonment to

the end of his days, in Newgate, the publication of a Libel on the late unfortunate Queen of France, who, herself, perished on the Scaffold. He exhibited the strongest attestation of the sincerity of his Conversion to Judaism, by submitting to one of the most painful Ceremonies or Acts enjoined by the Mosaic Law. The Operation, which was performed at Birmingham, confined him to his Chamber, if not to his Bed, for a considerable time; and he preserved with great Care, the sanguinary proofs of his having undergone the Amputation. Few Individuals occupy a more conspicuous, or a more unfortunate place in the Annals of their Country, under the reign of George the Third. He will rank in History, with Wat Tyler and Jack Cade, the Incendiaries of the Plantagenet Times; or with Kett, so memorable under Edward the Sixth.

The Elements seemed to conspire with all the foreign Enemies of Great Britain, at this Period; the Hurricane of October, 1780, which took place in the West Indies, being one of the most tremendous in its Nature, as well as violent in its Effects, commemorated in the course of the Eighteenth Century.

Though its destructive rage spread Devastation in a greater or a less degree, over the whole Chain of the Carribee Islands, yet Barbadoes experienced its greatest fury, together with the severest loss of lives and property. A friend of mine, General James Cunningham, was then Governor of the Colony. He has related to me, that after remaining above ground as long as it was practicable with Safety, he, accompanied by a number of his Family and Domestics, took refuge in a small Cellar, several feet lower than the level of the Street, at Bridge Town, the Capital of the Settlement. Here, indeed, they found themselves secure from the Danger of being crushed under the ruins of the House which they had just quitted, or from being completely borne off and swept away by the force of the Wind. But, they were soon assailed by two new Misfortunes, against which they could provide no sufficient remedy. The first Inconvenience arose from the severe Cold which they endured; the Climate having changed, in the course of a few Hours, from intense Heat, to a contrary extreme. The other Evil, which was of a still more alarming nature, threatened their Destruction, from the Rain which flowed in



upon them in great quantity, as it fell in Torrents. While they remained in this deplorable Situation, up to the knees in water, doubtful whether to continue in the Cellar, where about twenty of them huddled together, were crowded into a very narrow Space; or whether to attempt reaching some more secure Shelter; a tall athletic Negro of General Cunningham's family, who lay upon him, in a posture which did not admit of his moving, said to the General, "Massa, if I not make water, I die." "Do it then, in God's name," answered he. The Negro had no sooner received this permission, than instantly availing himself of it, he bedewed the General, from the nape of his Neck, to his very Shoes; much, as we are taught to believe, in the manner of a Hottentot Priest, when celebrating the nuptial Ceremony. "But," added Cunningham, when relating the Story, "never did I experience a more grateful Sensation than was produced by this warm Libation, which seemed to animate my frozen Frame, and to revivify my Body. I regretted when it stopped, and I derived from it essential service in the horrors of that indescribable Night."

The Situation of the Negro, impelled by a Necessity paramount to all respect or restraint, reminds me of a fact somewhat similar, which took place at the Palace of Sans Souci. The great Frederic, in a select Society, having been one day more elevated and convivial than usual after Dinner, was induced by the gaiety of the Conversation, to prolong the accustomed limits of the Repast, and to detain his Guests to a late Hour. His Majesty furnished, himself, the chief share of the Entertainment, by the brilliancy of his Sallies ; but he forgot, unfortunately, that his Guests were Men. One of them, an old General, who was often among the persons invited to the royal Table, but whose powers of retention had suffered in the course of twelve Campaigns ; anticipated with extreme Impatience, the moment when the King, by rising, would permit of his quitting the Apartment. In this Hope and Expectation, he long supported with unshaken Fortitude, one of the most pressing demands of Nature. Overcome at length, and yielding to a Power stronger than himself, he suddenly rose from his Chair, and exclaiming, "*Sire, Tout est grand dans Votre Ma-*

*“jeste, jusqu'à la Vessie même. Sire, Je me  
“mews,”* ran out of the Room. Frederic  
was charmed with the ingenuity of the Com-  
pliment, and laughed heartily at the Gene-  
ral's Distress, which might however have  
proved fatal to him. The celebrated Astro-  
nomer Tycho Brahe's Death was caused by  
a precisely similar Act of imprudent Respect.

Parliament having been dissolved early in  
September, I was elected one of the Mem-  
bers for Hindon in the County of Wilts; and  
the new House of Commons meeting to-  
wards the end of October, the first Debate  
turned on the Choice of a Speaker. Lord  
George Germain, not Lord North, com-  
menced the proceedings on that Evening,  
and performed the principal ministerial part.  
It was not intended by Administration, that  
Sir Fletcher Norton, who during near eleven  
years, ever since the resignation of Sir John  
Cust in January, 1770, had filled the Chair,  
should re-occupy it in the new Parliament.  
He had given umbrage during the Session of  
1777, both to the Sovereign, and to Minis-  
ters, by a memorable Speech, which he ad-  
dressed to the King, while standing in his  
official Capacity, at the Bar of the House of

Peers. And though the Admonition or Exhortation that he thought proper then to use, relative to the economical Expenditure of the Money voted by the House of Commons, had met with the Approbation of the Country at large, yet it unquestionably produced his eventual Exclusion from the Employment of Speaker. Lord North having tried the ground at St. James's, found His Majesty determined upon the point. Conscientious, nevertheless, that it would be highly unpopular to place his intended Dismissal on such a Basis; Ministers availed themselves of Sir Fletcher's ill state of Health, which had considerably impeded the progress of public Business in the preceding Session, as forming a sufficient Cause for his removal. While, therefore, they passed high Eulogiums on his Ability and Talents, they lamented that Infirmities of Body rendered it improper to ask of him, or to accept from him, a continuance of his public Services. Sir Fletcher however, rising in his place, and speaking from the Opposition Bench, while he was sustained by that powerful and numerous Phalanx; endeavoured to point out the latent Enmity, as well as the obvious Nullity, of the Ministerial Arguments. He

affected, it is true, to disclaim any wish of being again placed in the Speaker's Chair; but he took care to accompany the Declaration, by an Assertion of his perfect physical Capacity to meet its Duties and Fatigues. His Appearance seemed indeed to present the aspect of a Man, who, though somewhat declined in years, did not manifest any tokens of Decay. All the personal Attacks levelled by Norton's friends, on the Opposition side of the House, at Lord North, could neither induce nor provoke the First Minister to open his lips on the Occasion. He remained profoundly silent: but, Mr. Rigby, unintimidated by the Clamors of Sir Fletcher's Adherents, after boldly avowing that he was dismissed for his political Trespasses, justified his Exclusion from the Chair, on parliamentary or on Ministerial Grounds. Cornwall was chosen Speaker by a very large Majority.

Sir Fletcher Norton, though perhaps justly accused, as a professional Man, of preferring Profit to conscientious delicacy of Principle; and though denominated in the coarse Satires or Caricatures of that Day, by the Epithet of "Sir Bullface Doublesee;" yet

possessed eminent parliamentary Knowledge as well as legal Talents. Far from suffering in his Capacity of Speaker, by a Comparison either with his immediate Predecessor or Successor in that high Office, he must be considered as very superior to both. The Chair of the House of Commons, during the whole course of the Eighteenth Century, was never filled with less Dignity or Energy, than by Sir John Cust, whom Wilkes treats in all his letters, with the most contemptuous Irony, or the most mortifying Insult. Cornwall possessed every physical quality requisite to ornament the Place ; a sonorous Voice, a manly, as well as imposing Figure, and a commanding Deportment : but, his best ministerial recommendation to the Office, consisted in the Connexion subsisting between him and Mr. Charles Jenkinson, then Secretary at War, which the Marriage of the former Gentleman, with the Sister of the latter, had cemented. After his Election, Cornwall gave little Satisfaction, and had recourse to the narcotic virtues of Porter, for enabling him to sustain its Fatigue : an Auxiliary which sometimes becoming too powerful for the Principal who called in its Assistance, produced Inconveniences. The

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“*Rolliad*,” alluding to the Speaker’s Chair, as it was filled in 1784, says,

“There Cornwall sits, and ah! compelled by Fate,  
Must sit for ever through the long Debate;  
Save when compelled by Nature’s sovereign Will,  
Sometimes to empty, and sometimes to fill.”——

——“Like sad Prometheus fastened to the Rock,  
In vain he looks for Pity to the Clock;  
In vain the Powers of strengthening Porter tries,  
And nods to *Bellamy* for fresh Supplies.”

We may here remark, as a curious Fact, that Sir Fletcher’s Dismission from the Office of Speaker, conducted him within eighteen Months, to the Dignity of the Peerage; an Elevation which he owed solely to the jealousies and rivalities that arose between Lord Rockingham and Lord Shelburne, as soon as they got into Power: whereas, Cornwall, his successful Competitor, after presiding more than eight years in the House of Commons, died without ever entering the House of Lords. It was thus that Dunning reached that Goal, while Wallace missed it. So much does the Disposition of Events, which in common language we denominate Fortune, regulate the affairs of Men, in defiance of Juvenal’s

“Nos te,

“Nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam, Cæloque locamus.”

I scarcely remember, during now fourteen Years, that I sate in different Parliaments, a more personal, or a more acrimonious Debate than I witnessed soon after my first Entrance into the House, on the sixth of November. It took Place on the Address proposed to be carried up to the Foot of the Throne, in Answer to His Majesty's Speech. Lord George Germain again assumed the first Part, and attracted towards Himself all the Severity of Opposition; Lord North being unavoidably compelled to absent Himself, on Account of Indisposition. The recent Nomination of Sir Hugh Palliser to the Government of Greenwich Hospital, drew from Fox the most pointed, as well as violent Reflections, not only on various Members of the Cabinet, but, on the Sovereign himself. Not content with declaring that "there could be only "one of the King's Servants," (the Earl of Sandwich,) "so abandoned, so lost to all "Sensibility or Honor, as to have dared "to advise such a Measure;" he added, that "his Surprise was the less excited by "the Fact, because it formed the Characteristic of the present *Reign*, to hunt "down, to defame, and to vilify great or



“ popular public Men ; while the infamous  
“ were upheld, employed, and rewarded.”  
As if apprehensive that the Application of  
these last Words might be in any Degree  
ambiguous, He subjoined, fixing his Eyes  
on Lord George Germain, “ The recent  
“ Promotion of Sir Hugh Palliser is dic-  
“ tated by the same Spirit, which has pro-  
“ duced the Promotion of a Man to one of  
“ the greatest *civil* Employments, who has  
“ been publicly degraded, and declared to  
“ be incapable of serving again in any  
“ *military* Capacity, at the Head of every  
“ Regiment in the Service.” So severe, if  
not illiberal an Allusion, which could not  
be misunderstood, instantly called up Lord  
George ; who observed that “ the Aspersion  
“ which the Honourable Member had  
“ thought proper to throw out in the Course  
“ of his Speech, being obviously directed  
“ at Himself ; the House might naturally  
“ expect He would notice it. I rise  
“ therefore,” said He, “ once for all, simply  
“ to declare that whenever Gentlemen de-  
“ scend to the Meanness of personal Invec-  
“ tives, instead of Argument, and shall think  
“ proper to make Me their Object ; I am  
“ prepared to treat both the Invectives and

" their Author, with the Contempt that  
" They deserve." Fox allowed this Answer  
to pass unnoticed on that Evening; but,  
next Day, having probably felt that it could  
not be altogether despised, He thought proper  
to say, while speaking on the Report of  
the Address to the Crown, that " the noble  
" Secretary's Words during the preceding  
" Debate, however personal to Himself  
" they might be, yet were so qualified, as  
" to render it wholly unnecessary for Him to  
" take any further Notice of them." Admiral  
Keppel treading in the Tracks of Fox;  
repeated however nearly the same Accusations  
as had already been brought forward  
against the first Lord of the Admiralty;  
whom Keppel charged with Incapacity and  
Mismanagement of the naval Forces, and  
stigmatized as meriting universal Reprobation  
for having recommended Palliser to  
His Majesty, for the Government of Greenwich  
Hospital. Such an Appointment conveyed  
indeed indirectly a severe Censure upon  
Himself. These Personalities and Charges  
did not prevent the Address from being  
voted by a Majority of Eighty-two: The  
Exclusion of Sir Fletcher from the Chair,  
on the first Day of the Session, had

only been carried by Sixty-nine. On so precarious a Foundation did the Ministers stand, even at the Commencement of a new Parliament; and so weak were the Foundations on which reposed Lord North's Power towards the Close of the Year 1780, undermined as it was by an unfortunate, if not an unpopular Contest. When a Motion was made a few Days later, by Mr. Thomas Townsend, to vote the Thanks of the House to their late Speaker; after a Debate of considerable Length, Administration could only command ninety-six Votes, while Opposition carried the Question by a Majority of Forty; having divided One Hundred and thirty-six, though Lord North was present on the Occasion. But, the Motion being conceived in very laconic and general Terms, the first Minister neither rose to speak, nor made any personal Effort to impede its Success.

A long and very interesting Debate arose on the 27th of November, when Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, Member for the Town of Nottingham, (one of the most upright, honorable, and incorruptible Individuals who ever sat in Parliament;) moved the Thanks of

the House to Sir Henry Clinton and Earl Cornwallis, for the important Services that those Commanders had rendered to their Country, on the other Side of the Atlantic. An Infinity of curious Matter was elicited by the Nature of the Subject, as it naturally or necessarily embraced the American War; a Topic calculated to produce interminable Discussions. Neither the first Minister, nor Mr. Fox, though both addressed the House in the Course of the Evening, performed the principal Parts. Wilkes rising in his Place, pronounced a Speech of great Length, and of still greater Severity; which, (as He was accustomed to do,) He had prepared, not without evident Labour, for the Occasion. It was, like every Composition of his; spirited, classic, and stamped with the characteristic Energy of his fearless Mind. In the Course of it, He neither spared Lord Cornwallis, whose Inconsistency in drawing his Sword to maintain a Cause, which, a few Years earlier, He had reprobated publicly in the House of Peers, Wilkes endeavoured to expose: nor did He fail to attack both the Ministers and the Sovereign, by whom the War was carried on against the Colonies. The Right claimed by the Crown and by

Parliament, to tax America, he reprobated as "an antiquated Usurpation of the Stuar-arts, revived under the third Prince of the Family of Brunswic. This Pretension," exclaimed He, "has been in every Age, the favorite Maxim of Despots. In Opposition to it, *Hampden* shed his Blood. Such an Attempt against the fundamental Rights of the English People, justified our Ancestors in commencing the civil War which conducted the Tyrant Charles to the Scaffold." He concluded by imploring of Mr. Coke to withdraw a Motion in which no Man could concur, without indirectly giving his Sanction or Approbation to the American War itself. Lord North on the other Hand, expressed his Hope, that Wilkes would be the only Individual in the House to oppose the Motion. But, another dissentient Voice was raised to it in the Person of Sir Joseph Mawbey; a Man who, from some unfortunate Circumstances of his private Life, never could obtain a patient or a candid Hearing in Parliament. Rigby and Courtenay, both attacked Him; not, indeed, with Argument, but, with a more powerful Weapon, Ridicule. Sheridan and Fox rose to defend Sir

Joseph, as He constantly voted with Opposition. In 1784, after He had quitted that Party, and joined Pitt against "the Coalition," they turned their powerful Artillery upon Him. The "Rolliad," when speaking of the Necessity imposed on the Speaker, *Cornwall*, to continue in the Chair while the House is sitting, adds,

"Painful Pre-Eminence!—He hears, 'tis true,  
Fox, North, and Burke: but, hears *Sir Joseph* too."

Lines which form a Parody on Pope's Address to Lord Bolingbroke, which He concludes by saying,

"Painful Pre-Eminence! Ourselves to view,  
Above Life's Weakness and its Comforts too!"

Sir Joseph Mawbey spoke nevertheless with great good Sense, though not with Brilliancy. He was at this Time the Colleague of Admiral Keppel, and represented the County of Surry. To the Marquis of Rockingham, during the short Administration of that Nobleman, in 1765, He owed his Elevation to the Rank of a Baronet. Like Wilkes, He refused to concur in the Vote of Thanks to Lord Cornwallis; but, the Motion was not the less finally carried without a Division.

Little Consolation can be derived during this gloomy period of English History, from carrying our view beyond the Metropolis, to the Extremities of the Empire, or from considering the Operations of the War by sea and land. As Geary had succeeded to the Command of the Channel Fleet, by Hardy's Death, so Darby took the same Command soon afterwards, in consequence of Geary's Resignation. None of these Names will be pronounced with Enthusiasm by Posterity. Admiral Barrington, by his repulse of D'Estaign at St. Lucie, acquired the only Renown gained on the Ocean, from the Commencement of Hostilities in July, 1778, till the period when Rodney was sent out to the West Indies. The inveterate Disputes that arose between Keppel and Paliser, which, after convulsing the Navy, and dividing the Kingdom, began insensibly to fall into Oblivion; were again revived during the short time that the House of Commons remained sitting before the Christmas Recess. In consequence of Sir Hugh Paliser's Appointment to the Government of Greenwich Hospital, the Events of the 27th July, 1778, were discussed anew, with all the Acrimony of Party. Fox originated the

Discussion by the Severity of his Animadversions on Palliser, who had just taken his Seat in the House, as Member for the Town of Huntingdon, where Lord Sandwich's Interest had procured his Election. The Earl of Lisburne, second Lord of the Board of Admiralty, having, in a Committee of Supply, laid the Navy Estimates on the Table, an animated and most personal Debate ensued. Lord Nugent, who was then well advanced towards fourscore, vainly attempted, (like Nestor in the "Iliad,") by calling Fox repeatedly to Order, to avert the Storm, and to give the Subject under Consideration, a more general Direction. When Fox had exhausted every Topic of Declamation with which the Occasion furnished Him, both against Palliser, and against the first Lord of the Admiralty, Lord North rose to protect them; and in a very able, as well as argumentative Speech, endeavoured to shew how unjust a Persecution the Vice Admiral had undergone. Sir Hugh himself, conscious of his Inability to contend with such an Adversary as Fox, on such a Theatre as Parliament; after denying the pretended Allegations made by his Enemies, and acknowledging his Obligations to



the first Minister for the eloquent Defence just pronounced ; proceeded to read his own Justification. The Paper, by its Length, Dullness, and perhaps more than either, by the imperfect or defective Manner of its Delivery, put the Patience of his Auditors, as I well remember, to a severe Trial. Palliser, who had risen from an obscure Origin, by long and distinguished Services, to the Rank of a Baronet, and to some of the highest Honors of his Profession ; wanted the Advantages of Education, as well as those of Manner, Deportment, and external Grace, in all which He was wholly deficient. Nor had He, like his Opponent, Keppel, the Support derived from high Descent and Alliances. I have however always considered Him as a most judicious, meritorious, and calumniated naval Officer, who was overborne by the Torrent of Party, and fell a Sacrifice to Ministerial Unpopularity. Never can I forget the Picture that He drew of the Action, fought on the 27th of July ; a Day not to be recollected by an Englishman without Feelings allied to Humiliation. He declared in the Face of the House of Commons, that the British Fleet were led into Action in a disorderly and

unskilful manner. In the Beginning, with too much Contempt of the Enemy; but, towards its Close, with too much Awe; keeping at too great a Distance, and manœuvring in Confusion. In his Reply to Palliser, Keppel contented Himself with entrenching his Reputation behind the Sentences of the two Courts Martial; and reiterating the Charges of Treachery, blended with Falsehood, which his Honorable Relation, (Fox,) had already brought forward against the first Lord of the Admiralty. Not that Keppel's Courage could be called in Question, as had happened, though perhaps most unjustly, in the Instance of Byng: but, in Self Possession, Judgment, superior maritime Skill, and Presence of Mind; in all those Endowments of a great Commander which ensure Victory, I have always regarded Him as deficient. Even the State of his Health, disordered and shattered by Sickness, tended to incapacitate Him on the twenty-seventh of July, for performing with Promptitude, the arduous Duties of his Situation. I believe, now that Time has softened down the Asperities of Party, this Opinion has become general. Keppel's Exploits will never be ranked with those of

Rodney, of Duncan, or of Nelson; nor will they ever be associated to the glorious Recollections of the best Years of George the Third. Lord North, with whom, not to be defeated, constituted a sort of Victory; and who generally contented himself with half Triumphs; after defending Palliser with his usual Ability, and with more than his common Animation; having thus rescued him from the immediate Attack of his Enemies, aimed at no further Advantage, but moved for an Adjournment early in December.

As if to complete the Climax of our national Misfortunes at this humiliating Period, Holland was added to the number of our Enemies; War being declared against the Seven United Provinces, before the close of 1780, notwithstanding the Repugnance equally felt at such a Rupture, by the King of Great Britain, and by the Stadtholder. More than a Century had then elapsed, since we had been engaged in Hostilities with the Dutch, under the profligate Reign of Charles the Second. During some Portion of the intermediate Time, the two Countries had been governed by one Prince; and one Soul might be said to animate their

Counsels after the Expulsion of James the Second, when their joint Efforts were directed to stem the Current of Louis the Fourteenth's Arms in the Netherlands. Even subsequent to King William's Decease, the United Provinces made common Cause with his Successor, against France, under Marlborough: but, the disgraceful Termination of that great Struggle, which lasted near ten Years, dissevered England and Holland. After the Peace of Utrecht, in 1712, no close nor cordial Union subsisted between the Cabinets of the Hague and of St. James's. The Dutch were, indeed, prevailed on to join George the Second, as Auxiliaries, though not as Principals, in the war of 1743, undertaken to preserve Maria Theresa on the Throne of her Father Charles the Sixth. Unfortunately, the English, Dutch, and Austrian Armies, which, while conducted by the great Talents of Eugene and Marlborough, had nearly driven Louis the Fourteenth to the last Extremities; when led by Konigseck, and by William, Duke of Cumberland, were every where defeated on the same Plains.

Marshal Saxe made himself Master of the

Barrier that protected Holland against the overwhelming Power of France; and only the Moderation or the Indolence of Louis the Fifteenth, which checked his Conquests, gave Peace to Europe in 1748, at Aix-la-Chapelle. That Prince, had he been animated by the Ambition of his Predecessor, or by the Spirit of Conquest which impelled the French Republic in 1795, might have entered Amsterdam, and have subjected the Zuyder Sea to his Dominion. Having escaped from this imminent Peril, the Dutch remained neutral Spectators of the Contest which took Place between us and France in 1756, when Flanders, which for near a Century had constituted the Palæstra of Europe, by a singular Transition became a Country of Repose; and the House of Austria for the first Time joined her inveterate Foe, the House of Bourbon. It was reserved for the calamitous *Æra* of the American War, which familiarized us with Disgraces and Reverses, to witness Holland openly ranged against Great Britain, under the Banners of Louis the Sixteenth and Charles the Third. The Opposition exulted at the Declaration of Hostilities between the two Countries, as setting the Seal to Lord North's ministerial

**Embarrassments.** Nor could it be denied, that the Necessity for blocking the Mouth of the Texel, and probably engaging the Dutch Fleet at the Entrance of their own Ports, in the depressed, as well as inferior State to which the British Navy had then sunk ; augmented the Difficulties under which the Administration laboured, while it encreased the Unpopularity of the Sovereign.

Yet never did any Government make greater Efforts to avert and avoid a Rupture, than were exerted by Lord North's Cabinet. Sir Joseph Yorke, who, by long Residence in Holland, had become in some Measure naturalized at the Hague, exhausted every art of Diplomacy, to stem the Current of French and American Politics. The Stadtholder, no less than the Majority of the People throughout the Seven United Provinces, nourished the warmest Partiality towards Great Britain : but, the Prince of Orange had lost the public Respect which his high Office ought to have excited ; and the Nation, immersed in narrow Speculations of commercial Advantage, displayed no Spark of that public Spirit, or of those great Energies, which had operated such powerful Ef

fects against Philip the Second and Third, Kings of Spain, during the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries. The Pensionary, Van Berkel, acting under the Impulse of Maurepas and of Vergennes, precipitated his Countrymen on War with England, by signing a Treaty with the American Insurgents; precisely as Madison, in the Summer of 1812, commenced Hostilities with us, by the Suggestions of his Corsican Director. Nor did Fox and Burke arraign more severely the Measures of Lord North, as having produced the Rupture that took Place with Holland; than the Leaders of Opposition in the House of Commons, inveighed against the line of Conduct adopted on the part of Ministers, which led to the late Contest with America. Both Wars arose principally from a similar Cause; the apparently desperate, or highly alarming Condition of England. In 1780, we appeared to be rapidly sinking under the Combination of European, Asiatic, and American Foes. In 1812, Bonaparte, Master of the Continent, from the Frontiers of Portugal to those of Russia, prepared to consummate the Subjugation of Europe, by a March to Moscow. To Van Berkel, and to Madison, the Occa-

sion seemed equally favorable for the Development of their rancorous Enmity to the English Government. The Measures of the former Minister led, at no distant Period of Time, in the Space of about fifteen Years, to the Subjugation and Subversion of the Republic of Holland. Futurity will shew whether the Policy of Madison; if his base Subservience to Bonaparte can merit the Name, will prove more successful or beneficial to his Countrymen; and will prove how far the American President may justly challenge their future Gratitude, more than the Pensionary of Amsterdam merited the Support of the Dutch.

Nearly about the same time, Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, expired at Vienna, after a Reign of forty Years, during which she had exhibited a memorable Instance of the Vicissitudes of Fortune. Like Frederic the Second, King of Prussia, she acceded in 1740; and a great Portion of their Lives was passed in mutual Hostility. The Strength of her Mind, and the Tenacity of her Character, sustained her amidst Difficulties, which a Woman of inferior Resolution could not have surmounted. Since the Death



of Elizabeth, Queen of England, in 1603, Europe had not beheld any Female seated on the Throne, who united so many private Virtues, to so many great public Endowments. Maria Theresa manifested a masculine Mind, blended with feminine Qualities calculated to conciliate universal Affection. Elizabeth, however illustrious she appears when viewed in her kingly Capacity, wanted Softness, Sincerity, and all the gentler Qualifications that render Woman an Object of Attachment. Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth were both resuscitated in Her, though without the Avarice of her Grandfather, or the capricious and cruel Despotism of her Father. Maria Theresa resembled Her in this Point of View. As a Sovereign, she possessed far greater Constancy and Energy than had been exhibited by her Father, the Emperor Charles the Sixth, or by her Grandfather, Leopold the First. Charles, while resident in Spain during "the War of the Succession," displayed no Endowments of Character, and was twice driven out of Madrid in Consequence of his Delays or Incapacity. Leopold betrayed a Want of every Resource, when in 1683, at the Approach of the Grand Vizier Cara

Mustapha, he fled to Passau, leaving his Capital to be invested, and his Dominions to be ravaged, by the Turks. The Caution, Experience, and Moderation of Maria Theresa, increased by religious Scruples, imposed a Restraint on the pernicious Activity of her Son and Successor, Joseph the Second. His Accession to the Dominions of the House of Austria, and the Line of Policy that he embraced, constituted one of the many concurring Circumstances which eventually facilitated the Progress of the French Arms in the Netherlands, after the Revolution.

Though sinking under the accumulated Pressure of advancing Age, as well as of Disease and Infirmary, Maria Theresa retained the Possession of all her Faculties, nearly to the last Moments of her Life. Religion and Resignation smoothed its Close. Two of the Archduchesses, her Daughters, Maria and Elizabeth, who remained unmarried, constantly attended about her Bed ; but I have been assured that they could not prevail on their Mother, though they earnestly entreated it, even a short Time preceding her Dissolution, to bequeath her Blessing to the Arch-

duchess Amelia, their Sister. That Princess, who had been married to Don Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, was supposed to have committed great Irregularities of every Kind. Only a short Time before Maria Theresa breathed her last, having apparently fallen into a Sort of Insensibility, and her Eyes being closed; one of the Ladies near her Person, in Reply to an Enquiry made respecting the State of the Empress, answered that her Majesty seemed to be asleep. "No," replied she, "I could sleep, "if I would indulge Repose; but I am sensible of the near Approach of Death, and I "will not allow myself to be surprized by "him in my Sleep. I wish to meet my Dis- "solution, awake." There is nothing transmitted to us by Antiquity, more impressive than this Answer, which appears divested of all Ostentation. Voltaire himself, Cynic as he was, and always severe upon crowned Heads, unless when mollified by the flattering Letters or Presents of Catherine the Second, must have admired it. Even the great Frederic, who survived Maria Theresa near six Years; though he encountered the gradual Advances of Death with Philosophy and Fortitude, yet betrayed much Reluct-

ance, displayed some Peevishness, and perhaps manifested a little Affectation or Vanity, in the Preparations which he made for his Departure. We may see the Proofs of it, in his Conversations with Zimmerman. Neither Augustus, nor Vespasian, nor Adrian, though each of these Emperors seems to have contemplated Death with a steady Countenance, and almost with a smiling Look; yet manifested more perfect Self-possession in the last Act of Life, than did Maria Theresa. She was as much superior in Virtue to her Contemporary, Catherine the Second, as she fell beneath that Princess in Brilliancy of Talents. In the Arts of reigning, in Courage, in Benignity of Disposition, and in solid Endowments of Understanding, the Austrian may dispute for Superiority even with the Russian Czarina. Posterity will perhaps confer more Admiration on the latter Empress, but, must reserve its moral Approbation and Esteem for the former Sovereign.

END OF VOL. I.

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J. H. Creery, Printer,  
Black-Horse-Court, London.

# **AN ANSWER**

**TO THE CALUMNIOUS MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE**

**"QUARTERLY REVIEW," "BRITISH CRITIC,"  
AND "EDINBURGH REVIEW,"**

**CONTAINED IN THEIR OBSERVATIONS ON SIR N. W. WRAXALL'S**

**"HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF HIS OWN TIME."**

**BY SIR N. W. WRAXALL, BART.**



## ANSWER,

&c.

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**AFTER** the very severe personal Attack made upon the Author of these "Memoirs," and upon the Work itself, by the Writers of the "Quarterly Review;"—an Attack in which they have been followed, though with somewhat diminished Asperity, by the "British Critic;"—it might appear like conscious Acquiescence, if I left it wholly without Reply. Yet, as I am intimately persuaded that no Panegyric can permanently elevate a mean Work, and that no Censures can long depress a Book of Merit, I should perhaps have left those Strictures to their own intrinsic Weight, if the Editors of the "Quarterly Review" had not wantonly made Sir John Macpherson, the Object of their illiberal and pointed Sarcasms. Independant of the high Character, the public Services,

the financial Resources, and recognized Disinterestedness, which Sir John displayed when Governor-General of Bengal;—Facts too well established in the Memory of his Countrymen, to stand in need of my Testimony;—I should have imagined, that if any Portions of the present Work could have challenged Respect, Sir John's Communications would have been entitled to it. Can they consider the Particulars given relative to the Emperor Leopold the Second; a Prince who was known to have honoured Sir John Macpherson with his Confidence and Friendship; as destitute of Interest? The Title of these Facts to Belief, is irresistible, and they develop the secret Policy, Feelings, as well as Character of that Sovereign. From what Information more authentic, can contemporary History be generally drawn? The Anecdote of His present Majesty and William, Duke of Cumberland, that of Hyder Ally, and many others, derived from the same Source, which are scattered over the two Volumes, speak for themselves. Contumelious Irony, and insulting Epithets, should be well weighed before they are applied; and when applied without obvious or apparent Reason, they lead us to suspect some con-



cealed Motives for their Adoption. Can any such have been offered and accepted in the Case before us? The World will judge for themselves. To have censured *me* with Severity, is explicable, perhaps deserved, in all Cases natural, and in the common Order of Things. But, it is more difficult to account on ordinary Principles, for the Fact of honorable Men exercising the Function of literary Censors, incapable therefore of prostituting or selling their Suffrage; heaping contemptuous Expressions on a distinguished Individual, merely for having contributed some Passages to the Work under their Examination. When one reflects on these Circumstances, one is almost led to imagine that the Article in Question was made *for* them, not *by* them; and though it is impossible to form even a Conjecture of the Quarter from whence such acrimonious Comments could originate, yet is one tempted to exclaim with Faulconbridge in "King John," applying the Words to the literary Fathers of the "Quarterly Review,"

"Sir Robert might have eat his Part in me,  
Upon Good Friday, and ne'er broke his Fast. —  
—Sir Robert never help to make this Leg."

The Charges made against myself, may be reduced to three; namely, my Want of *Ability*, and utter *Inaptitude* for executing the Work that I have undertaken; my *Immorality*, and lastly, my *Deviations from Truth*, sometimes resulting from gross Ignorance, sometimes destitute even of that Apology. Heavier Imputations can hardly be affixed on an Author. Let us see how they are sustained:

The "Quarterly Review," after stating that I have "egregiously mistaken the Amount of my Resources and of my Ability," compares me for Incapacity and Self-Importance, to "P. P. Clerk of this Parish," whose "Memoirs" furnish so much ludicrous Entertainment in the Works of *Pope*: while the "British Critic" characterizes the Book as "mere Gossip, and languid Imbecility." It would not become me to appreciate the Rank which my own Understanding holds in the Scale of Intellect: but, either the Public does not think so meanly of the "Historical Memoirs," and their Author, or they manifest a most incorrigible Obstinacy and Inattention to the friendly Admonitions reiterated by their literary Guides, who exert

every Endeavour to prevent their Readers from throwing away "Eighteen Shillings on a new Edition in Octavo, of the Daily Advertiser." Now I can assure these Gentlemen, that the first Edition of this imbecile Work, consisting of one Thousand Copies, was sold in thirty-three Days, between the 14th of April, and the 17th of May of the present Year; though the Price was, not *eighteen*, but, *six and twenty* Shillings. No Efforts of the Press could bring out a second Edition before the Middle of June: but, of that Edition, very nearly as many have been already sold. How are we to account for this Fact?—"Audacious Charges "against distinguished Persons,"—"Stories resting on no Basis of Truth or Probability,"—"flippant and offensive Reports,"—followed by "pompous Gossip, and inflated Trash;"—how could Men be found so weak as to purchase such a Compilation of Absurdity, Plagiarism, and Matter already better given in the *Annual Register*, or the *Court Calendar*? I leave the Solution of this pecuniary Enigma to the Gentlemen Reviewers, who will doubtless expose the Juggle that has evidently been practised on the Understand-

ings, and on the Pockets of the British Public.

Nor is it merely my Defect of natural Capacity, but, my utter Unacquaintance with the Sources, from which alone, authentic Materials for composing "Memoirs of my own Time" could have been drawn, that disqualify me, as they assert, for so delicate a Task. "It is very clear," says the *Quarterly Review*, "that Sir Nathaniel was not "at all in the Secret of any Party, and the "Face of the political World was to him "like the Town Clock.—He saw the Hand "move, and heard the Bell strike; but, observed nothing of the Springs which impelled, and knew nothing of the Principles that regulated the Machine." The "British Critic" observes, "In Fact Sir Wm. "Wraxall is not qualified as the Author of "Historical Memoirs of my own Time. "He "has not been behind the Curtain, and seen "the Wires of the Puppets worked. To "write Memoirs, so that they may form legitimate Materials for History, it is necessary "for Men to be able to say, *Quorum Pars magna fui.*" On reading these Animad-

versions, one is almost tempted to doubt whether the Reviewers had perused the Work, which they so severely criticize. It will not be disputed that I lived in daily and intimate Friendship with the late Lord Sackville, then Lord George Germain, who continued to be Secretary of State, down to January, 1782. From *Him* I surely *might* have known much of the *Secret* of the Time; and that I actually *did* know some Particulars not unimportant, may be seen in the "Memoirs," themselves. From the Duke of Dorset, who was appointed Ambassador to the Court of Versailles, in December, 1783, and whose Confidence, as well as Correspondence I enjoyed during the whole Period of his Embassy, I might have derived similar Information. As I lived almost always in London, and attended the House of Commons regularly; unless I laboured under insurmountable Stupidity, I *must* have caught some Warmth from the Materials and Persons that I approached.

But, I differ on another Point, from the Reviewers. For, I think, that if I had been "in the *Secret* of any Party;" if I had "been behind the Curtain, and seen the Wires of

“ the Puppets worked ;” if I had been officially entrusted with Facts or Documents of State, I could not have divulged them during the Life of George the Third. My very Ability to compose Memoirs of my own Time, would have constituted my Disqualification. Lord Clarendon, Burnet, Dodington, Horace Walpole, were all dead, before their Memoirs or Reminiscences were given to the World. I am, in my own Person, an Instance and a Proof of the Position that I here maintain. During the Years 1774 and 1775, I had the Honour to be employed most confidentially by the late Queen of Denmark, Caroline Matilda, who then resided in the Hanoverian Dominions, at the Castle of Zell. By that Princess I was repeatedly sent over to His present Majesty, charged with Dispatches of a very interesting Nature, with whose Contents I was intimately acquainted. So strong a Sense did the King entertain of my Services rendered to his Sister, that he was graciously pleased, through the Medium of Lord North himself, then First Minister, to send me a Present of a Thousand Guineas, accompanied with Assurances of Employment. Lord North delivered the Message to me at Bushy Park,

to which Place he honoured me with an Invitation for the express Purpose. That Nobleman knew from His Majesty's own Lips, the *Nature* of the Negotiation with which I had been entrusted by the Queen Matilda. Every Fact here enumerated, can be authenticated by Persons who are still living, some of whom are of very high Rank. But, though above forty Years have elapsed since the Decease of that amiable and unfortunate Princess, I have never alluded in any of my Publications, to the Negotiation in which I was consulted and employed by Her Majesty. Yet, if disclosed, it would excite great Interest;—for, it resembled in many Particulars, a Story of Romance; and according to the Principle laid down by the Reviewers, it would “form legitimate Materials for History.” But, those worthy Gentlemen and I see Objects through opposite Ends of the Telescope.

I come next to the Charge of Immorality and Indecency, respecting which the “British Critic,” after severely arraigining the Work on this Ground, says, “To the other Sex, and the Youth of our own, it is a sealed Book, on account of its gross Inde-

“cencies.” It is to be regretted that the Reviewers should not have glanced at the Passages to which Allusion is thus made. Such general and sweeping Censures, without specifying any particular Stories or Parts, must be considered as very unfair. On what Foundation are they preferred? Is it on the Anecdote related of Marshal Saxe and Mademoiselle de Chantilly?—But, it will not be contended that in relating the Marshal’s Conduct, I have spared the strongest Epithets of Abhorrence and Indignation, which are so justly excited, by his depraved Treatment of an unprotected Female. If it is meant to insinuate, that I convey improper Information to the other Sex, then, the Works of Shakspeare, Otway, and Congreve, must be interdicted; and still more, the Productions of Pope, of Swift, and of Prior. Nay, every Newspaper must be carefully removed:—for, they disclose far more, than can be found in my two Volumes. But, there remains still a minor Imputation, which the “Quarterly Review” qualifies with the Terms “of filthy and indecent Garbage.” Probably They have in View, the Series of Facts mentioned after the Account given of Ferdinand the Fourth, King of Naples, which are il-



illustrative of Neapolitan and of French Manners. But, are these fastidious Critics aware, or are they ignorant, that in De Thou, Sully, Davila, and D'Aubigné, similar "Garbage" is found? Are not Smollett, Gibbon, and Hawkesworth, full of such Details? Sir John Dalrymple, by express Permission, nay, under the Sanction of His present Majesty, has published Letters far more exceptionable in Point of Delicacy, (as for Instance, the memorable Letter of Charles the Second, to his Sister, Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, dated "Whithall, 27th Feb, 1660," relative to which, Dalrymple himself says, that "it could hardly have been expected from a "royal Hand,") than any Thing to be met with in my "Memoirs."

It remains to meet and to repel the Attack made on my Veracity: which Imputation, the "Quarterly Review" endeavours to sustain by selecting out of the two Volumes, about fourteen prominent Instances of Error, or as he denominates them, Falsity. That my Work is not exempt from many Mistakes, I readily admit: but, the Reviewers, while censuring me, should have been careful not to fall into the very Predicament which they

reprobate. Great Triumph is assumed, because I have named *the Duke of Dorset*, as having informed me of the Circumstance attending Lord Camden's being invested with the Order of the *Garter*. No doubt I erred in thinking that I received the Account from *the Duke*. But, even the Reviewers dare not assert that the Anecdote itself is false. They "never read," they say, "a more *impertinent* Story." Impertinent Stories may however be true Stories. In fact, though the Duke of Dorset could not have related it to me, there are ten Persons now living, who know, and are ready to depose to its Truth. How, indeed, could I invent it? I did not even know that Lord Camden's Christian Names were *John Jeffereys*, except in Consequence of the King's Remark. Here then, though I was partially mistaken, I was radically accurate.

In another Assertion, namely that I met Mr. Pitt in Company with Mr. Rose, on his way to Paris, at *Antwerp*, in August, 1783, I have likewise erred. On appealing, as I did, to Mr. Rose himself, a few Weeks ago, for the Truth of the Fact, he wrote me, "I was at Antwerp, in, or about the Month

“ of August, 1783, with Lord Thurlow, on  
 “ a Tour through a Part of the Continent.  
 “ *Mr. Pitt was not with me*; but I met him,  
 “ I think, in October, at Paris, where he  
 “ went after a short Stay at Rheims.”—It  
 appears therefore that in this Matter likewise  
 I fell into a partial Mistake. In all the other  
 Instances brought to prove my Deviation  
 from Fact, the Reviewers are either mistaken,  
 or ignorant, or they substitute their own  
 Narration as more worthy of Credit than  
 mine, though without adducing any Proof.  
 But, what shall we say to Men, who are so  
 utterly unacquainted with the very Matters  
 on which they presume to decide and to ac-  
 cuse, as to assert that “ Robinson’s counter-  
 “ signing, as *Secretary of the Treasury*, on the  
 “ Refusal of Lord Weymouth, *the Secretary*  
 “ *of State*, an Order for the Attack on Pon-  
 “ dicheerry, in 1778, is a perfect *Impossibi-*  
 “ *lity*?”

Mr. Robinson, writing to Sir John Mac-  
 pherson, from “ Wyke House, Isleworth,  
 “ 23d May, 1800,” in a Letter, which has  
 been long since printed, expressly says, “ My  
 “ Correspondence with the Nabob (of Arcot),  
 “ shall be produced, if desired, which it fell

“to my lot (*though not within my Province,*)  
 “to carry on: as also, in Concert with the  
 “Chairman and Deputy Chairman, *as a*  
 “*Special Committee*, to write out *Orders* to  
 “the Governor and Council of Madras, for  
 “the Capture of Pondicherry, which was  
 “effected so expeditiously, *when His Ma-*  
 “*jesty’s Secretary of State would not sign*  
 “*such Orders.*” I leave this Letter to be  
 denied, or contradicted, by the Reviewers.\*

With similar Boldness, but, with as ill Suc-  
 cess, they pronounce on Mr. Fraser’s pre-  
 senting to King George the Second, when  
 Under Secretary of State, a Paper for His  
 Majesty’s Signature:—“a Duty,” say they,  
 “which never *by any Chance*, could have  
 “devolved on Mr. Fraser, or any other Per-  
 “son in his Situation.” What! Not in Case  
 of the Secretary of State’s Illness, or neces-  
 sary Absence, or Dismission, or under pres-  
 sing Circumstances, in Order to expedite  
 the Dispatch of public Business? Do these  
 Gentlemen Reviewers know or recollect,  
 that on the 18th of December, 1763, this

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\* The printed Letter has been left, with Messrs Cadell  
 and Davies, for general Inspection, ever since August,  
 1815. It still remains in their Possession.

same Mr. Fraser, and Mr. Nepean, (now Sir Evan,) as *Under Secretaries of State*, by Command of His present Majesty, brought and delivered up into the King's Hand, not merely Papers, but, the Seals of Lord North's and Mr. Fox's Departments, on their Dismission from Office? It is evident that the Editors of the "*Quarterly Review*," have either got out of their Depth, or have hookwinked their own Judgment, and modulated their own Opinions, in Submission to others.

After *garbling*, not citing, the Account that I have given of the late Lord Liverpool; and *omitting*, for Reasons which will be obvious to every Reader, some of the most discriminating Circumstances of that Nobleman's ordinary Demeanour described by me; the "*Quarterly Review*" says, "In this Character of Lord Liverpool, though it may be in the main, tolerably correct, there are some Errors, which prove that Sir Nathaniel *had no personal Acquaintance* with the Person whose Portrait he draws. For Instance, nothing can be less accurate than the Statement, that His Lordship's Education was narrow, and that he

" was more read in Men, than in Books." I not only was known to Mr. Jenkinson with great Familiarity, from 1781 down to 1786, when he went up to the House of Peers; but I was in constant Habits of meeting and conversing with him. I have dined at his Country Seat, Addiscombe Place, near Croydon, in 1784; as, probably, the Dowager Countess of Liverpool, and the present Duchess of Dorset, who were both there, may remember. Even down to a much later Period of his Life, he continued to honour me with his Regard; and as late as 1797, he presented me, himself, in the Queen's Drawing Room at St. James's, to the Princess of Orange. So much for my "personal Acquaintance" with the Earl of Liverpool. As to his "University Education," and his having "continued all his Life, what is called a *bookish* Man," which the Reviewers assert; I can only repeat, that though he might be "a classic Scholar," and might "have possessed a great Variety of reading," yet his whole Life, his Speeches in Parliament, and his Elevation, sufficiently prove, that "he had read Men more than Books."

If I do not descend to answer and refute

the other Instances adduced of pretended Error or Falsehood, it is because the Examples cited, are either in themselves of little Moment, or must rest on the Degree of Credibility due to the Reviewers, as opposed to my own Testimony. Let the Public decide between us. It is not of very material Consequence, whether "the Royal George" went down in the midst of *Portsmouth Harbour*, or at *Spithead*. Nor is it very important, whether Lord Bute sold his House in Berkeley Square to Lord Shelburne, *before* he inhabited it, or *afterwards*. The "Royal George" perished in an Instant, by the Effect of fatal Negligence; and the Earl of Bute constructed the magnificent Mansion which was purchased by Lord Shelburne. These constitute the leading Facts in both Cases. There are other Passages, where the Reviewers have, either wilfully or unintentionally, misstated and misinterpreted my Meaning. I have never asserted, as they affect to suppose and to assume, that "*the Cabinet* of 1801, considered Peace with France as impolitic, unsafe, and unwise:" but, that *His Majesty* was known so to regard it; and therefore that "Lord Hawksbury affixed his Signature to the Articles,

“not only without *the King's* Consent or “Approbation, but, without his Knowledge.” The Difference between the two Statements is obvious.

The “Quarterly Review” arraigns severely the Details into which I have entered, when discussing the Characters or public Merits of eminent Men. “He seems to “consider it necessary,” say they, “to write “a professed Review of the Manners, Morals, Talents, and *Res gestæ* of each. In “this Way, Lord North and Lord Sackville “are spread over forty Pages; and Pitt and “Fox have, each, near thirty to their respective Shares.” On reading this Charge, one is tempted almost to doubt whether it can be serious. Do not Memoirs necessarily include Biography in their Range? What constitutes the peculiar Charm of *Plutarch*, except this very Circumstance, that he enters minutely into the domestic and private Life, as well as into the official Acts, of his Heroes? Even *Suetonius*, a Writer of very inferior Merit in many Points of View, yet awakens Attention by the Anecdotes that he recounts of the Cæsars, because he conducts us into their Apartments, and renders



us familiar with them. De Thou and D'Aubigné descend to similar Details. Even Grammont, St. Simon, and Horace Walpole, interest us on the same Principle. If Fox and Pitt, if Lord North and Lord Sackville, if Burke and Dunning, do not challenge minute Investigation, who can deserve it? Lord Clarendon and Burnet are liable to the same Accusation, which constitutes indeed their greatest Claim to be read by Posterity. It will not, I hope, be said that I am comparing myself to these distinguished Writers, because, like *Trinculo* in "the Tempest," I attempt to "creep under their Gabardine," in Order to avoid the Storm. I only endeavor to justify my Attempt, by setting up their Precedent.

The "British Critic" is indeed at Variance on this Point, with the "Quarterly Review;"—for, the former of these Publications, when speaking of "the Characters of the principal political Leaders of the Day," adds, "these we esteem by far the best Part of his Work." They retract, it is true, their Approbation in the next Sentence, by subjoining that the Characters "are written in a loose, prolix, wordy Style."

But, can we annex any Value to the Praise, or any Importance to the Blame of Men, who arrogating to decide on literary Merit, are not even exempt from Errors of Orthography? Of Men who write *Vallois*, for Valois; *Luzinska*, for Leczińska, *Malgrida* for Malagrida, *Haydue* for Heyduc, *Vintrimille* for Vintimille; and many others? I forbear to make any Comment on the Manner in which both these Reviews have mentioned the Prosecution commenced against me by Count Woronzow, for having inadvertently mentioned his Name in a Way hurtful to his Feelings;—a Circumstance which could not have arisen from any Intention to injure or offend, which I regret, and for which, as soon as I was apprized of it, I made him every becoming Apology. If Decency and Liberality of Mind did not restrain the Pens of these Critics, or moderate their virtuous Indignation, other Considerations might and ought to have imposed Limits on them. Are they aware, that by attempting through the Medium of the Press, to influence the public Mind, and to anticipate the supposed Judgment of a Court of criminal Law, on a Matter pending, and not yet come to hearing; *they* are guilty of

a far more heinous Offence, than the one which it is falsely affected to attribute to *me*? For, the Purity and Majesty of English Jurisprudence, discountenances, reprobates, and punishes, every Appeal to the Passions of the Multitude, as subversive of the first Principles of Equity and Justice.

Having now so far finished my Defence at the Bar of literary Criticism, I will candidly confess the inherent, indelible, and inextinguishable Faults, which pervade every Page of the "Historical Memoirs," and of which I own myself culpable: nay, from which I principally claim for the Work, any Title to be read either by the present, or by the future Age. They are,

*Its Freedom, Impartiality, and Truth.*

I am well aware that these Qualities never yet did recommend, and never will recommend, to the Favor of Princes, Ministers, or of the Great. They deprecate all Disclosures; hardly approving even Panegyric, unless restrained within cautious, humble, and guarded Limits. Party, and Party only, can in this Country, support the Man who

ventures to spurn these prudent Boundaries. But I have not secured that Protection. Though nine Years have scarcely elapsed since Pitt and Fox, both, paid the Debt to Nature; though the first Offices of the State, and the Benches in either House of Parliament, are still filled with their respective Enemies, Relatives, and Adherents; I have, (most imprudently I own,) spoken of them, as I would do of the Ministers of Queen Anne; of Lord Godolphin, and Lord Bolingbroke. So have I done of George the Third, as if I were writing of William the Third, or of Elizabeth. All the affectionate Veneration necessarily inspired by his Virtues, all the Admiration excited by the Rectitude of his Intentions, has not induced me to attempt to conceal or to deny, that almost from the Period of his Accession, down to the Termination of the American War, His present Majesty did not enjoy Popularity. He might have merited it, but he did not possess it. Where then, I would ask, can this Work find Protectors, except in those who respect *Truth* as the only Quality that can render History valuable? I well know that I have neither conciliated the Followers of Pitt, of Fox, or of Lord North. Of

Course, in the Spirit of Party, I can hope for no Asylum. I look beyond the present Generation for my Reward, namely, public Approval. That Hope, whether fallacious or not, has hitherto sustained me under literary and legal Attacks. It will animate me in the future Progress of these Memoirs; which, whatever may be their Errors or Defects, and whatever Treatment their Author may experience from the Age in which he lives, will, he confidently trusts, be favorably received by Posterity.

N. WILL<sup>M</sup>. WRAXALL.

*Charlton, near Cheltenham,  
22d August, 1815.*

I HAD scarcely finished my Answer to the "Quarterly Review" and "British Critic," when I find myself attacked by a still more formidable, because a more voluminous, and if possible, a more acrimonious Antagonist, in the Pages of the "Edinburgh Review." Though, as coming after the two former, he can only glean the Field which they have reaped, and has only repeated the same Charges or Accusations which they had already preferred; yet having thought it necessary to bestow on my Work, in Order, as he says, "to expose its Worthlessness," near two and forty Pages of his loyal and high principled Review, he claims from me a separate and appropriate Reply. He begins by animadverting on my Account of Catherine the Second. His Words are, speaking of the second Edition, "The Deaths of the Emperor Peter, of Prince Ivan, of the supposed Princess Tarakanoff, of the Grand Duchess the first Wife of Paul, and indeed, that of the Princess of Wirtemberg, are still laid to the Charge of the Empress. Such a Series of

“ Murders, including that of a Husband, of  
 “ *a Boy*, and of three young Women, one  
 “ of whom was a Daughter in Law, has  
 “ not been charged on any Individual, at  
 “ least in the modern History of Europe.”

Now, in Order to expose the Injustice and Falsity of the two first of these Accusations, namely, that of Peter the Third and of Ivan, (which latter Prince, though he was born in 1740, and killed by his Guards in 1764, the “ Edinburgh Review” no doubt from Ignorance, denominates *a Boy*,) I have only to cite my own Account. No Man disputes that Catherine ascended or assumed the Russian Throne, by the Deposition of her Husband, which was followed, a few Days afterwards, by his Death. I have said, when mentioning him and Ivan, “ Sir Thomas Wroughton always spoke to me  
 “ of Catherine’s Participation or Acquiescence in the Death of Peter the Third,  
 “ as *involuntary, reluctant, and the Result of*  
 “ *an insurmountable Necessity*. He even considered her *Knowledge* of the *Destruction*  
 “ of the unfortunate Emperor Ivan, who was  
 “ stabbed by his own Guards at Schlusselfourg in 1764, with a View to prevent his

“ being liberated by Mirovitsch, as *exceedingly problematical*.” This is almost the only *Mention* that I have made either of one, or of the other of those Princes, throughout the whole Work; except that I elsewhere say, “ Peter the Third disappeared in 1762, “ as the unfortunate Emperor Ivan did in “ 1764.” What Reply can these worthy Scotch Reviewers set up, after such an Exposal of their calumnious Misrepresentation? Their Zeal to rescue Catherine’s Memory from Imputation, even at the Expence of Truth, would indeed be ludicrous, if it did not excite Indignation. One would almost imagine that it was “ the great Napoleon,” or the virtuous Carnot, in whose Defence they had drawn their Pen. While I am speaking on this Subject, I will further add, that all the Information which I ever received at Petersburg in 1774, when Ivan had been dead only ten Years, and Peter the Third, scarcely twelve; went to confirm Sir Thomas Wroughton’s Opinion, of Catherine’s Repugnance to sanction or permit any Violence being used towards the deposed Emperor, her Husband. She long refused, even with Tears, to authorize Measures of Rigour, and he fell a Victim to revolutionary military



Necessity, sustained by the Fears of the Conspirators who had placed Catherine on the Throne. She was only a passive Agent in the Business. Nor is it in any Manner proved that she was acquainted with Mirovitsch's Attempt to liberate Ivan. The Empress received the Intelligence of that tragical Event, while in public Company at Riga; and Opinions were greatly divided on the Subject, at the Time. But, whether she was guilty or innocent, *I* have no where given even an Opinion, throughout this whole Work. Yet, these constitute *two* out of the "Series of Murders," which "the Edinburgh Review" says, *I* have "laid to the Charge of the Empress."

Relative to the Death of the supposed Princess Tarrakanoff, it is not necessary for me to make any Defence, having only alluded briefly to Castera's Account of that Event, published in 1797; and having given at some Length, Sir John Dick's Explanation of his Share in the Transaction; leaving the Judgment to be formed respecting it, to the Reader. Far from aggravating Catherine's Culpability in the Part which *She* acted towards the Female in Question, *I* have rather

defended her Conduct. My Words are, "It is even very difficult altogether to condemn the Empress Catherine, for endeavouring to get Possession of her Person." And I have stated my Reason for so thinking, namely, that Impostors were nearly as dangerous to a Czarina placed on the Throne of Muscovy by a Revolution, as a rightful Pretender to the Crown. "These Considerations," I have added, "must, at least in a political Point of View, *justify* Catherine for taking Measures to prevent the Lady in Question, from being made an Instrument in the Hands of vindictive or ambitious Individuals, to accomplish their Projects of Vengeance against herself." I have neither asserted nor denied, that the pretended Princess Tarrakanoff was drowned by the Waters of the Neva entering her Prison. Castera says that she did so perish. Sir John Dick admits that she died in Prison : but he asserts, her End was produced by Chagrin. Let the Reader judge between the two Accounts. And now I would calmly ask the "Edinburgh Reviewers," how they can so disgrace their own Characters and Profession, as to lend themselves to such

Attacks as these? Their own Feelings, and the public Condemnation, will amply avenge me, by exposing them to general Censure.

I come to the fourth Charge against me, that of the Death of the Grand Duchess, first Wife of Paul:—a Charge drawn up with elaborate Malevolence, and supported with no ordinary Degree of historical and critical Ability. “No Murder recorded in civilized History,” say the Edinburgh Reviewers, “approaches this. Paul is involved in it, as much as his Mother: for it varies the Atrocity very slightly, whether he acted from Subserviency to the Empress, from Adoption of her flagitious Policy, or from Resentment at the supposed Gallantries of his Wife.”—They add, “To publish such Stories lightly, is no small Offence.”—Who, on perusing these Passages, would not be led to imagine, that I had now for the first Time revealed to the World, this Story; or at least first published it through the Medium of the Press? But, unfortunately for the Reviewers, as they themselves are obliged to admit, the whole Narration has been given in Print, eighteen Years ago, in French; a Language much more universally read than

English ; printed at Paris, in 1797, immediately after the Empress Catherine's Decease, and circulated all over Europe. Paul had then newly ascended the Russian Throne, and scarcely twenty-one Years had elapsed since his first Wife's Death. Neither he, nor his Ministers, could be ignorant of the Existence of the Work in Question; and the Lapse of Time was not sufficiently great, to have carried off all the Individuals who might have elucidated the Nature of the Grand Duchess's End. Even *Levesque*, who mentions the Event, though more doubtfully, and in a Manner that leaves his own Opinion of it uncertain, published his Work in 1800. Yet Paul never attempted to answer these calumnious Misrepresentations, though he reigned down to 1801. It has been truly said that " an injudicious Friend " is the worst of Enemies." The Edinburgh Reviewers stand in this Predicament. For, they must either be compelled to admit that Paul, knowing himself and the Empress his Mother to be innocent, yet calmly acquiesced in the Accusation; not participating the Anxiety manifested by his present Advocates, and utterly regardless of his Reputation; or they must be reduced to suppose

that he had Reasons for not stirring the Business of his first Consort's Death. I leave them to choose between the two Alternatives. They cannot pretend to believe that Paul, even though he had been actually implicated in the Grand Duchess's End, could have wanted venal and prostitute Pens to have undertaken his Defence. The historic, as well as the poetic Muse, frequently indeed succeeds best in Fiction. The Application of these Remarks will be easily made by the Edinburgh Reviewers.

Let us now advert to my own Account of the Event under Discussion. It is given on the Testimony of two Princes of Hesse Philipstahl who were at Vienna in 1778, and seemed to derive some Probability or Confirmation, from the Circumstance of the Person named as the Grand Duchess's Lover, being then resident in the Austrian Capital. But I have contented myself with relating the Story, without asserting that I believed the Empress or Paul to have committed the Act attributed to them. It is true that I have added, "When we contemplate the History of the imperial Family of Russia, from the Reign of Peter the First inclusive, down to

VOL. I. d

“ the present Time, we shall find nothing in  
 “ the Story above related, either improbable  
 “ in itself, or inconsistent with the Measures  
 “ to which the Sovereigns of that Empire  
 “ have continually had Recourse, under simi-  
 “ lar Circumstances, in various Instances.”

Do not the Reviewers know that the Wife of the Czarowitz Alexis, only Son of Peter the Great, perished or disappeared in 1715, precisely like Wilhelmina, Princess of Hesse Darmstadt, in *Childbed*;—an Event which was produced by the ferocious Treatment of her Husband? She was in the Flower of Youth, beautiful, virtuous, and at least as much an Object of Compassion, as the first Wife of Paul. Did not Alexis himself disappear in 1719, under Circumstances which have no Parallel in modern History, except Philip the Second's Execution of Don Carlos? Contemplate the arbitrary Acts of barbarous Power, exercised under Elizabeth, Catherine's Predecessor; when Women of Quality, stript, were exposed to the Lash of the Executioner, and expired under the Punishment of the *Knout*, on a public Scaffold. They excite Horror, and may justify us in supposing that Events, which never could be credited, if the Scene lay

at Stockholm, at Berlin, or at Madrid, might possibly have been true at Petersburg. If, nevertheless, I were called on to state my own Opinion respecting the Death of the Grand Duchess in Question, I owe it to my Love of Truth to say, that I believe it resulted from natural Causes, and was not accelerated by any Violence. But, as no Measures were ever adopted either by Catherine or by Paul, to disprove the Reports circulated under the former, and printed under the latter Sovereign, accusing them of having accelerated her End, the Subject must remain Matter of historical Doubt and Discussion.

It is a Duty incumbent on the "Edinburgh Reviewers," not merely as calling themselves impartial and honorable literary *Censors*, but, from Regard to their moral Character as *Men*; to explain on what Ground they have thought proper to accuse me of laying to Catherine's Charge, the last of this "Series of Murders." I mean, that of the Princess of Wirtemberg. They must either have done it from a systematic Sacrifice of Truth, to other Motives best known to themselves; or they never can have read the Remarks made by me on the Event in

Question :—for, my Opinion and Observations are altogether favorable to the Empress, and tend to acquit her of any Participation in that Princess's Death, even on the Supposition that it was not natural :— a Supposition which I by no Means sanction. That the illustrious and unfortunate Lady was confined in the Interior of Muscovy, for some asserted Errors of Conduct ; that she there expired at the End of about eighteen Months ; that her Body was refused to be delivered up to her Parents ; that no *Procès verbal*, or authenticated Account of her Disorder and Decease, was ever published by the Court of Petersburg, or of Stutgard ; that injurious Reports respecting her End were circulated throughout Europe, and obtained considerable Belief even in this Country ;— on all these Points, there is no Difference of Opinion. They are universally admitted. Now, what have I said ?—After stating the Suspicions entertained of Poison, or other Means having been resorted to, I add, “ It is natural to ask, Why did Catherine cause the Princess to be imprisoned or poisoned ? Her Gallantries, however culpable or notorious they might be, yet constituted no Crime against the Empress of Russia ;



" who exhibited in her own Conduct, an  
 " Example of Emancipation from all Re-  
 " straint and Decorum on the Article of  
 " Female Irregularities of Deportment."——  
 " In the Case of the two Emperors, Peter the  
 " third and Ivan ; as well as in the Instances  
 " of the pretended Princess Tarrakanoff, and  
 " of the first Grand Duchess of Russia ; the  
 " Motives for her Commission of a Crime,  
 " by depriving them of Life, are obvious.  
 " *But, none such appear in the Instance before*  
 " *us.*"——What Answer can the Reviewers  
 make to this Charge of wilful Misrepresentation  
 and false Accusation, which I bring  
 against them?

Having thus vindicated myself, as I trust,  
 satisfactorily, from the five Imputations of  
 the Edinburgh Reviewers, respecting the  
 Empress of Russia, and retorted on them-  
 selves the calumnious Accusations with  
 which they have loaded me ; I will only add  
 that I perfectly acquiesce in the Conclusion  
 to which they come at last. They say,  
 " The Probability seems to be, that this  
 " Princess, at the Desire of her Husband,  
 " for real or supposed Indiscretions, was re-  
 " legated to a Provincial Prison, in a Coun-

“ try where the secret Death of an illustrious  
 “ Prisoner, though really natural, might be  
 “ plausibly imputed to Assassination.” That  
 the present King of Wirtemberg proved to  
 George the Third, by Documents and Pa-  
 pers the most authentic, that he had not  
 any Knowledge of, or Participation in, his  
 first Wife’s Death, is incontestable. His Ma-  
 jesty, as I have stated, “ after a full Inspec-  
 “ tion of them, became perfectly convinced  
 “ of his having had no Part in that dark and  
 “ melancholy Transaction.” This Fact I  
 have given on the Authority of a Gentleman  
 who well knew, and had seen, those Proofs.  
 He is the same Individual, whom the Edin-  
 burgh Reviewers contemptuously call my  
 “ Informer,” and of whose interesting Recital  
 they speak, as “ a long and *very dull* Story.”  
 These Reviewers are unconsciously treading  
 on very delicate Ground, and should be re-  
 minded of Hamlet’s Advice to the Players,  
 “ not to say more than is set down for  
 “ them.” “ His Majesty’s Reluctance and  
 “ Hesitation” to conclude the Union of the  
 Prince of Wirtemberg with his eldest Daugh-  
 ter, to which I allude; probably arose only  
 from parental Attachment. And, without  
 having Recourse to any Supposition of Vio-

hence, we may easily conceive that the Decease of the first Princess might have been caused by her own Situation, shut up in a Muscovite Castle, deprived of her German Attendants, male and female, a Prey to Solitude and Chagrin. Such Circumstances are usually of themselves sufficient to abbreviate the Term of human Life.

I shall now endeavor with Calmness,—for, Truth is a powerful Buckler;—to repel some of the minor Calumnies or Distortions of Fact, in which the Reviewers indulge themselves. Joseph, King of Portugal, they represent me to have described, “as a drunken old Moor.” My Words are these. “In his Cheeks he had a high scorbutic Humor, attributed commonly to Excesses of Wine; though it might partly arise from violent Exercise constantly taken under a burning Sun. His Face, indeed, was nearly as dusky as that of a Moor.” With similar Regard to Veracity, these Gentlemen say, “Sir Nathaniel’s *Hero*, among the Sovereigns of the eighteenth Century, is Louis the Fifteenth:”—an Assertion contradicted by the Memoirs under our Review. I have, indeed, spoken of a *Portion* of

Louis's Reign, with the warmest Approbation. So I should have done, when writing of the "*Quinquennium Neronis*," the first five Years of Nero, if I had composed the History of that execrable Monster's Life. But, I have depicted Louis the Fifteenth during the *concluding* Years of his Government, as a Man sunk in every degrading Gratification or Pursuit. After stating that "Louis, during his last Years, excites Disgust, unqualified by any Sentiment of Pity, or of Respect;" I add, "His Death, which took Place under these Circumstances, was hailed by the French, as the *Æra* of their Liberation from a Yoke equally disgraceful and severe." Reviewers, who thus unblushingly trample on Truth, must set little Value on Character, or must hold the Understandings of Mankind in great Contempt. I have elsewhere said, when mentioning Louis the Fifteenth, "Unquestionably, the four last Years of his Reign, were passed in a Manner worthy of Sardapalus; oblivious of his public Duties, insensible to national Glory, and lost to every Sentiment of private Virtue, or even of Decorum." And this is the King whom I am represented as having made my "Hero."

Nor have they less misrepresented my Assertion, that "Louis covered himself and his Country with Military Glory." The Paragraph in Question is as follows. "If Louis the Fifteenth, by the Peace of 1736, acquired Lorrain for France; he covered himself and his Country with Military Glory *during the War that commenced in 1741, on the Death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth.*" Can this Fact be disputed? Did not Marshal Saxe defeat us and our Allies, in repeated Battles; overrun the whole Netherlands, break down the Dutch Barrier, and threaten the total Overthrow of the Balance of Europe, as much as France did in 1793? At the Peace of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, Louis had attained to a very elevated Point of Glory, cemented by Moderation. But, he lived to become the Scorn of his Subjects and of Europe. While, however, I thus expose the wanton or inexcusable Inattention to Fact in the Reviewers, I must with equal Candour admit that they have pointed out an Error in this part of my Work, which I gladly correct. It is where I have said that Henry the Fourth conquered the Counties of *Bourg* and Bresse. It should have been *Bugey* and Bresse. The

Mistake was a mere Inadvertence of the Pen, but I return them Thanks for having noticed it. Indeed, no Details, however minute, seem to have been considered by them as beneath their Notice, which might, as they hoped, cover me with Confusion. I would nevertheless ask, on what Ground they presume to assert that I have made "a horrible Insinuation against the late Stadtholder." *Where*, and *what* is it? They are bound to speak out. I have said of the Prince of Orange, that, "after arriving in this Country, under a dark political Cloud, and after residing here many Years, without acquiring the public Esteem, or redeeming his public Character, he finally and precipitately quitted England under a still darker Cloud." What "horrible Insinuation" is couched under these words? "*Honi soit, qui mal y pense.*"

I pass over the coarse and vulgar Accusations of "Nastiness, Obscenity, Impurity," &c. these being, as I before observed, only "the Gleanings of the Field;" and having already answered their Predecessors, the "Quarterly Review" and "British Critic," on all these Points. But, I cannot allow their

Animadversions on the Fate of John and Cornelius de Witt, to remain unnoticed. If the Edinburgh Reviewers had looked into the *second* Edition of My Work, which lay before them; they would there have seen, that in order to guard against malignant Representations respecting the Death of the two de Witts, which, I was sensible, might be made, from the brief manner in which I had alluded to their tragical End; I have said, "Van Berkel merited the Fate which *unjustly befel the two de Witts*, and only "escaped it by the inert and incapable Conduct of the Stadtholder." Yet, this is the Passage, for which the Reviewers assert, "I "should be punished by the general Execration of Mankind," as exhibiting "Symptoms of unmanly Ferocity," and "degrading the English Language into a Vehicle "of cowardly and sanguinary Maxims." Perhaps, however, I ought not to be surprised at this exquisite Sensibility of the Edinburgh Reviewers, when engaged in the pious Office of rescuing from Odium, the name of *Van Berkel*; an Enemy of England and of the House of Orange, devoted to the Interests of France and of America. He was a natural and proper Object of *their*

Admiration, in Proportion as he excites opposite Sensations in every loyal or patriotic Bosom.

Whether *Thiebault* or I are most in the right, as to the *Cause* of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic's Dismission from the Prussian Service, is a Matter of very little Moment, I am most ready to allow and believe, that *Thiebault*, who resided long at Berlin, is more likely to have given the true Reason, than myself. The unworthy Motives assumed by the Reviewers, as dictating the Manner in which I have mentioned the Regent; followed by their Comments on my Assertion, that "His present Majesty resembles "the Antonines, in the leading Features of "his Character;"—such Animadversions neither admit Reply, nor merit an Answer. But, when they pass the Line of Truth, in Order to oppress me, I shall always flatly contradict them. How are they warranted in asserting that I have said, "George the "Second *eagerly* told the Countess of Yarmouth, *as a Piece of good News*, 'Freddy "is dead.'" My Account runs thus. "His "Majesty had just sat down to Play, and "was engaged at Cards, when a Page, dis-



“patched from Leicester House, arrived,  
 “bringing Information that the Prince was  
 “no more. He received the Intelligence  
 “*without testifying either Emotion or Sur-*  
 “*prize.* Then rising, he crossed the Room  
 “to Lady Yarmouth’s Table, who was like-  
 “wise occupied at Play; and leaning over  
 “her Chair said to her in a low Tone of  
 “Voice, in German, ‘Fritz is dode.’ Freddy  
 “is dead. Having communicated it to Her,  
 “he instantly withdrew.”—Where is the  
*Eagerness*, or the *Joy*, as at a *Piece of good*  
*News*, here manifested? It exists only in  
 the Pages of these Scotch *Munckhausens*,  
 who exaggerate or twist every Fact to their  
 own Purposes. That George the Second  
 did not particularly love his eldest Son, nor  
 perhaps had any great Reason so to do, is  
 Matter of Notoriety: but, he did not dis-  
 grace himself before Spectators, by display-  
 ing his Satisfaction at the Prince’s Decease.  
 How hard run must these Reviewers have  
 been, to find *real* Matter of Censure or of  
 Condemnation in my Work, when they are  
 reduced to *invent* Circumstances, to suit the  
 humiliating Task which they have under-  
 taken to perform!

But, we come now to "the Coalition of Lord North and Fox;" a subject on which their Feelings overcoming their Judgment, have carried them far beyond the sober Bounds of Reason or of Decorum. While they accuse me of "atrociously libelling the Memory of Lord North;" because I assign Motives to justify or palliate his Union with Fox, drawn from Prudence, and from his political Situation at the Close of the American War; they suppose me to be animated by "Rancour" against Mr. Fox, which Sentiment they ingeniously ascribe to "Syco-phancy." To whom, I would ask, could I make my Court in 1815, by descending systematically to calumniate Mr. Fox, if I were capable of such Baseness? It would be thrown away on the King, and no Man doubts that it would awaken Sentiments of mingled Aversion and Resentment in the Bosom of the Regent. Lord Liverpool, I fancy, will not suspect me of meaning to render myself acceptable to *him*, by traducing an illustrious Adversary, long since dead. "But, it requires," say the Reviewers, "the fullest Operation of the composing Power of Contempt, to preserve the Mind from some Indignation, at reading in such

“ a Writer as this, that Mr. Fox’s Claims on “ Office, were unsustained by moral Qualities.” Did these Gentlemen never hear the Answer of Father O’Leary to the Bishop of Waterford, when discussing the Doctrine of Purgatory? “ Your Lordship,” said he, “ may go *farther*, and fare *worse*.” I have spoken of Mr. Fox, as I thought of him, with Admiration, but, with Freedom; and I believe, even his Friends admit, with Candour and Impartiality, though I generally differed from him on political Subjects, and peculiarly disapproved of the Part that he took after the Commencement of the French Revolution.

It is, however, only by unfairly selecting a few detached Words of a long Sentence, and reasoning on so fallacious a Basis, calculated for low Purposes of Deception, that the Reviewers can pretend even to accuse me of diminishing Mr. Fox’s Claim to moral Esteem and Approbation. I regret the Necessity of citing from my own Work, but it is necessary to my Honour, to expose the malignant and uncandid Nature of the Attacks made on me. In summing up Mr. Fox’s Character, I have said, “ If Energy of

“ Mind, Enlargement of Views, Firmness of  
 “ Character, Amenity of Manners, Acquaint-  
 “ ance with foreign Courts and Languages,  
 “ Facility in conducting Business, and pro-  
 “ digious intellectual Powers, combining  
 “ Eloquence, Application, as well as Dis-  
 “ cernment;—if these Endowments are  
 “ considered as forming an incontestable  
 “ Claim to public Employment, *unsustained*  
 “ *by moral Qualities, or by Property*; we  
 “ must condemn the Sentence of Exclusion  
 “ passed upon him. Those Persons on the  
 “ other Hand, who consider all Talent, how-  
 “ ever eminent, as radically defective, unless  
 “ *sustained by Decorum, and a Regard for*  
 “ *Opinion*; as well as all who prefer So-  
 “ *briety of Conduct, Regularity of Depart-*  
 “ *ment, and the Virtues of private Life,*  
 “ above any Ability which Nature can be-  
 “ stow on Man;—lastly, all who regard  
 “ Judgment, *under the Controul of strict*  
 “ *Principle*, as the most indispensable Re-  
 “ quisite of a Minister, to whom the public  
 “ Honour and Felicity are in some Measure  
 “ necessarily entrusted;—such Persons  
 “ will probably hesitate before they decide  
 “ too hastily, on the Degree of Censure or  
 “ of Commendation, which the King’s Con-

“ duct towards Fox, ought to excite in our “ Minds.” Now, after perusing this Description, any unprejudiced Mind may pass Sentence. Let it be remembered too, that the Portrait here drawn, is not the Mr. Fox of *Fifty*, such as we remember him, residing at St. Anne’s Hill, a married Man, leading a domestic Life, in the Bosom of Letters and Researches of Taste: but, it is Mr. Fox at *thirty-two*, as he was in 1781, living in St. James’s Street, close to Brookes’s; and still devoted to those Gratifications by which he had impaired his Health, ruined his Fortune, and diminished his brilliant Reputation.

The Reviewers dilate with a Sort of Exultation, on the Circumstances of Mr. Fox’s having passed three Nights, at Lord Rockingham’s House, armed, during the Riots of June, 1780; and on his having collared one of the Rioters, whom he brought Prisoner to Grosvenor Square. No Man ever questioned his Attachment to the Head of his own Party, or his Abhorrence of the Excesses of a ferocious Mob, which manifested as much Antipathy to the Members of Opposition, as to the Government. But, the Ques-

tion is, Did Mr. Fox, "when pressed in the House of Commons, to co-operate for the Extrication of the Capital, lend any Support to Administration in that Moment of national Distress," as Burke did?—I shall not descend to answer the Accusation of "slandering Lord Effingham," or "insinuating that the Opposition were connected with the Rioters;" because, only determined Malignity can lay such absurd Imputations to my Charge, after perusing the Passages where those Subjects are mentioned in the Memoirs. On General Fitzpatrick, I am necessitated to say a few Words, though reluctantly, as I am charged with "Falsehood," in speaking of the Decay of his Talents, previous to his Decease. The last Time that I ever met that distinguished Person in Company, was, one Morning, at Cholmondeley House, a very short Time before his Death; when, not only his Faculties, but, even his Articulation seemed to me to have sustained a Diminution, or a Shock; though probably, as *Prior* said of Charles, Earl of Dorset, he might still "drivel better Sense, than other Men spoke." Dining at the same House, either on that Day, or soon afterwards, and mention being accidentally

made of General Fitzpatrick; some Decline of his intellectual Fire and Vigor of Mind, seemed to be generally admitted by all present. But, even on a Supposition that I erred in so imagining, how do I deserve to have it asserted, that "I seek a disgraceful Popularity, by exposing the Decay of Men of Genius, to make Sport for the Rabble"? The Reviewers ought to be well remunerated for these Sacrifices of Decorum, Truth, and Character. I have spoken of General Fitzpatrick, with Delicacy and Concern. Does Johnson "seek disgraceful Popularity, or "make Sport for the Rabble," when in his Translation of the tenth Satire of Juvenal, he observes,

"From Marlbro's Eyes the Tears of Dotage flow,  
And Swift expires a Driv'ler, and a Show"?

I leave Dr. Musgrave's Information and Evidence, to its own intrinsic Weight; only reminding the Reviewers, that when they rashly, as well as ignorantly assert, that "the Tale was patronized by no one, in, or out of Parliament, with the single Exception of the unscrupulous *Junius*," they probably have never read *Wilkes's* Letter to the Electors of Aylesbury, dated "Paris, 22d

“ October, 1764 ;” or the memorable “ North Briton,” No. 45. Whether either, or both these Productions, constitute Authority, I will not venture to say : but they unquestionably tend to corroborate Ross Mackay’s Account of the Venality of Parliament in 1763. Anxious as I am to take Leave of my Scotch Accusers, I must yet notice the Manner in which they inculcate my Mention of the calumnious Reports respecting Lord Shelburne’s having purchased into the Funds, previous to the Peace of 1783. If there be a Part of these Memoirs, in which, contrary to my ordinary Practice, I have used the greatest Caution ; leaning throughout the whole Narration, to a Disbelief of the Act imputed, and attributing the Report itself, to “ the active Malignity of the First Minister’s Enemies,” it is on the Point in Question. I have even cited Mr. Pitt’s Speech in the House of Commons, of the 21st February, 1783, in which he alluded to “ the Arts of Defamation adopted by Lord Shelburne’s Opponents, for the Purpose of “ degrading him in the national Estimation.” At the same time, Truth compelled me to add, that “ either He subsequently altered “ his Opinion, or his Actions contradicted



“his Professions.” And who, I would ask, were Lord Shelburne’s most inveterate Enemies, whose Arts Mr. Pitt characterized as “deserving his Scorn?” Were they not the Adherents of Mr. Fox? Did these well informed Reviewers never hear of a Periodical Paper called “The Jesuit,” which appeared during Lord Shelburne’s Administration, in 1782? And are they so ignorant as not to know who was its principal Author? Let the Reviewers peruse the Speeches of Burke, and of Lee, then Solicitor General, pronounced in Parliament, between July, 1782, and March, 1783. It seems impossible for Language to accumulate more severe moral Charges, than they respectively heaped upon the first Lord of the Treasury. Lee described him “as deficient in Probity, Integrity, and every estimable Quality,” And am I now, in 1815, to be held up to universal Reprobation, for only mentioning that injurious Reports were circulated relative to the Earl of Shelburne? If History be sunk so low, and if Reviewers are with Impunity, from their Retreat on the Banks of the Firth of Forth, or hid in the Wyndes of Edinburgh, to exhaust their impotent Rage on any Man who presumes to write with Freedom on

public Men and public Events, it is Time to have done with historical Research.

*"Frangere leves Calamos, et scinde, Thalia, Libellos!"*

Only one Word more on this Subject. "It would not be fit," say the Reviewers, "to lay open the Circumstances which occasioned the political Difference of Lord Shelburne and Mr. Pitt, for so trifling a Purpose, as that of confuting Sir N. Wraxall." Yet, as two and thirty Years have now elapsed since it took Place, one should have thought, the Secret might have safely been divulged, especially as it would tend altogether to rescue Lord Shelburne's public Character from any possible Misrepresentation. But, it seems, Mr. Pitt did not confer the Marquisate of Lansdown on that Nobleman; which Title, we are now told, "was requested and obtained directly from the King, by the Duke of Rutland, on his accepting the Lord Lieutenantcy of Ireland." I do not presume to contradict this Affirmation of the Reviewers; simply remarking, that if the Duke of Rutland could thus dispose of the highest Honours of the Crown, without the Participation or Intervention of the first Minister, in Favour of a Person with

whom he was at Variance, or with whom, at least, he had a "political Difference;" the Duke was more powerful than the first Lord of the Treasury. But, there occurs another apparent Difficulty respecting it:—for, the Duke of Rutland went over to Dublin, early in March, 1783, whereas Lord Shelburne was not raised to the Marquisate, before the End of the following November. I leave these little Knots to be untied by the Reviewers.

For all the insulting personal Abuse with which they have honoured me, for the Reflections on what they are pleased to denominate my "public Morality," for the generous Solicitude that they demonstrate to prevent the Mischief which must arise to Society, from the Diffusion of a Work so malignant, immoral, and licentious, as the "Historical Memoirs," I thank the Edinburgh Reviewers. Their List of "Galliscisms, Scotticisms, Hibernicisms, Barbarisms, Vulgarisms, incoherent Metaphors, bad English, and absolute Nonsense," to be found in the Work; and which they kindly point out to the World, as literary Rocks and Quicksands, to be avoided by succeeding Writers; claim the public Gra-

titude. There is great Philanthropy in such disinterested Attention to prevent so pernicious a Book, of which *two Thousand have been already sold*, from penetrating any further, and corrupting the whole Inhabitants of the United Kingdom. I trust, the "Society for the Suppression of Vice," will notice as becomes them, these generous Efforts of Men, who can have no Motive except virtuous Indignation, to propel their Endeavours; and who find the Reward of their Labours, in their own conscious Rectitude. Such Men are rare on this Side of the Tweed, and should be encouraged, wherever they are found. Yet, with their Zeal, it would be as well, if they mixed a little Knowledge and Moderation. For Instance, when, towards the Conclusion of their Philippic, speaking of me, they say, "He is so perfectly regardless of Truth, that we are convinced, there is not a *single Anecdote* in the Book, which can be safely believed on his Testimony," they compel me to stand on my Defence. Not a single Anecdote! What! not the Account given of Lord Sackville's Reception of the News of the Surrender of the British Army, at York Town!—The Earl of Glandore, and Mr. Herbert of Muckruss, his two Sons in Law, as

well as Lord Walsingham, who were all present, are still alive, and could contradict it, if not true.\* Do the Reviewers mean to doubt my having sent the first Intelligence overland to India, of the Peace of 1783; for not doing which, the late Lord Sydney, then Secretary of State, narrowly escaped, as I know, being called on to make his Defence in the House of Peers?—Will these Gentlemen venture to question my Account of Sir Fletcher Norton's Elevation to the Peerage by Lord Rockingham; and of his kissing the King's Hand at the Queen's Drawing Room, on his being raised to that Dignity? Which of the numerous Particulars recounted, of George the Third, of Lord North, or of Mr. Pitt, do they presume to deny? Is it the King's Interview and Conversation with Lord George Germain, previous to his being created a Viscount; or is it the Story of Sir Eyre Coote's red Ribband, which covered Fox with no little Ridicule, in November, 1783, just before the Fall of the "*Coalition*"? This Pyrrhonism is excessive. The most determined Sceptic might believe *something*, out of such a Mass of Anecdote, between

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\* Since this Answer was composed, I have lost the first and the last of those three old Friends.

1772 and 1784, as are contained in the "Historical Memoirs."

The Contradictions and conflicting Opinions of these "same learned Thebans," the Reviewers, form not the least ridiculous Feature of their Criticisms; and prove that, though they have all been "screwed up to the sticking Place," namely *extinguishing the Work*, yet they differ *toto Cælo*, on the main Points of their Judgment. For Instance, the "British Critic" says, (Page 27) "The Materials of his *Second Part*, are much superior to those of the *first*." Now hear the "Edinburgh Review," (Page 188.) "On the whole, it must be owned that the Part of the Book which relates to the *Continent*, is much more tolerable than that which regards *England*." Again, upon the Subject of Mr. Fox, the "Quarterly" and the "Edinburgh," are, (as might indeed be expected,) completely opposed to each other. The first of these worthy Reviews says, "The Friends of the late Mr. Fox, will allege that Sir Nathaniel has been unjust to that eminent Man: but *we* think that on this delicate Subject, the Opinion of Sir N. is not only sincere, but, *justified by the Circumstances*

"of *Mr. Fox's Life*." After very warmly inveighing against that great Statesman, for "the Mischief of his public Conduct, and his Sacrifices to Ambition," they add, "We say nothing of his Conduct in latter Times. On that Subject we confess, we ourselves could scarcely write impartially. But, with Regard to the Transactions that Sir N. Wraxall relates, we must do him the Justice to say, that we think his Bias against the Politics of Mr. Fox, is not only *just and reasonable*; but, that similar Sentiments are common to the great Majority of Mankind." (See *Quart. Review*, Pages 206 and 207.) These Opinions are Wormwood to the Advocates of Fox, who indignantly exclaim, "To apply such Language as Sir Nathaniel applies to Mr. Fox, is, indeed, to libel all his eminent Contemporaries; and through them, the Age and Nation of which they were the Ornaments." Their pious Rage, excited by the Comments which I have made upon their great Idol, makes them strike at Random, and heap upon me at once Accusations of *Sycophancy* and of *Falsity*, blended with *Rancour*, which entitle me at once to their *Indignation* and their *Contempt*. (See "*Edinburgh Review*,"

Pages 204—206, and 207.) But, it would lead me too far, if I were to attempt to point out the Inconsistencies of Men, who seem to be agreed only on one Point, that of earning the Reward of their virulent Attack on the Book, and on its Author.

All the Thunders of the Scottish Vatican are concentrated in their concluding Sentence, which, though long, yet as containing the Quintessence of their critical Acumen, and displaying a Specimen of impartial literary Justice, I must transcribe. Speaking of the Work before us, they say, “ By the disgusting or indecent Character of his private Anecdotes; by his Belief in Stories, which were always incredible; by his Attempt to perpetuate Weaknesses, which ought to be forgotten; by the shameless Profligacy, or atrocious Criminality of the Acts, which he imputes coolly and groundlessly to public Men, with no other Distinction than that inspired by a pretty constant, though not a very judicious Attention, to the Wishes of the powerful; he has done his utmost to blacken the Character of his Age and Country, to extinguish all Confidence in political Honesty, and thus to destroy that



“ public Esteem, which is the only outward  
 “ Reward of those who do not court royal  
 “ Favour.” Why, what a nefarious Book  
 must this be! It ought to be burnt by the  
 common Hangman, opposite the Tolbooth  
 of Edinburgh, under the immediate Direc-  
 tion of the Scotch Reviewers, habited as Spa-  
 nish Inquisitors. The “ Essay on Woman,”  
 fell short of it in Indecency. Aretine and  
 Machiavel were not so subversive of public  
 Morality. Boccace, La Rochefoucault, or  
 Brantome, could not compete in Profligacy  
 with such a Work. John Knox himself,  
 their own Countryman, in his holy Rage  
 against the Whore of Babylon, against Po-  
 pery and Monarchy, scarcely surpassed the  
 Virulence of these Reviewers. Methinks I  
 behold them, perched on the sacred Mausoleum  
 of David Hume, from the Summit of  
 the Calton Hill, darting their *black* Light-  
 nings on my devoted Head! I am never-  
 theless, I assure them, unappalled and un-  
 dismayed. These are not the Arrows of  
*Teucer*: they are the imbecile and harmless  
 Darts of *Pritum*. “*Telum imbellis, sine Ictu,*”  
 which inflict no Wound, and leave no Cica-  
 trice. The Rumbling of their Thunder, only  
 reminds us of the brazen-hoofed Horses of

Salmonius, and never can imitate the Bolts of Jove.

But, let me calmly ask these worthy Guardians of the Chastity and Purity of the British Press, what is their Object in thus letting loose their Rage on me? Is it in the Hope or Expectation of at once *putting down the Book*, and extinguishing it under Invectives? Do they fancy that the English People will give them Credit for immaculate Criticism, and for unbought Censure? Or do they consider themselves as the Dictators of Literature,

“Knights of the Polar Star, by Learning placed,  
“To shine the Cynosure of British Taste”?

If these are their Expectations, I trust, they will be speedily undeceived, and they egregiously mistake the Limits of their Power.

“Non illis Imperium Calamo!”

Neither their Praise nor their Satire can operate beyond the Moment, unless it be sustained by Truth, Candour, and Impartiality. In the violent, as well as indecent Attack which they have now made, we trace the inherent Proof of some foul Interference. Else,

how shall we account for the “ Quarterly “ and Edinburgh Reviews” forming a literary *Coalition*, like that so famous political Union of 1783, which, as they may remember, covered both Parties with Disgrace and Shame? It is time however that I should take final leave of these Reviewers, which I do by parodying the Words of *Sterne*, addressed to the venerable Doctors of the Sorbonne, when he hopes that they rested well after their Consultation. I trust in like Manner, that the Conductors of the “ Edinburgh Review,” will receive from the Public, *the merited Reward* of their laborious and malevolent Attack on a Work, which, however great or numerous, as I admit, may be its Defects, is characterized in every Page, by Qualities vainly to be sought in *their* Productions; namely, Loyalty to the Sovereign, Detestation of French Principles, Abhorrence of Bonaparte and all his fallen Jacobin Gang, Attachment to the Crown, and Reverence for the British Constitution.

N. WILLIAM WRAXALL.

*Charlton, near Cheltenham,  
Wednesday, 6th September, 1815.*



**A SECOND**  
**A N S W E R**  
**TO**  
**THE CALUMNIOUS ATTACKS**  
**OF THE**  
**"EDINBURGH REVIEW."**

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**By SIR N. W. WRAXALL, BART.**

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**London:**

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**1818.**

**f**



A

## SECOND ANSWER,

&c.

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*Paris, No. 21, Quai Voltaire,  
27th January, 1816.*

**W**HEN I last answered the Attack of the "Quarterly Review;"—for, I held the "British Critic" in too much Contempt, to have ever given that Publication any separate Reply; nor should I probably have attempted to repel the Calumnies of the "Quarterly Review," if the unprovoked, and apparently inexplicable Abuse directed against Sir John Macpherson, had not roused me; —I confidently believed, the Editors of that Review, could never notice it. So strong is the internal Evidence of the Article "having been made *for* them, not *by* "them;" and so palpably is the Demonstration of this disgraceful Fact, impressed on every Page, that its ostensible Authors had no Shelter from public Shame, except in

Silence. Hid, and in some Measure lost in the Immensity of the English Metropolis; terrified at the Idea of my *disclosing the Means* which had been used to engage their Services; and the Name of the Person employed;—in the Lapse of near five Months, they have exhibited no Sign of Life. Not so the “Edinburgh Review.” Though London might conceal the Disgrace of the “Quarterly,” no *Wynde* of the “ancient Capital” of Scotland, could be found dark enough to shield from the Sneers and Contempt of their Countrymen, these *Munchausens* of the North. We may easily perceive how they wrythe and twist under the Chastisement inflicted on them, and how deeply they feel the Application of the “Metaphors,” which they affect to despise. Sir Fretful Plagiary did not betray more Distress, nor smile more ruefully, than does the “idle Advocate,” who, generously extending his Shield over his Associates in Humiliation, “throws away an Hour” in exposing the Errors of my Work. In that short Space of Time he has, as he asserts, actually *written* an Article containing above fourteen small, closely printed Pages, nearly equalling in Magnitude my “Answer,” which



certainly cost me some Days to compose: indeed, the Article cannot be *perused* in an Hour, nor *copied* in six Hours. Why, his Countryman, the “Admirable Creighton,” never wrote with such Facility, as this “idle Advocate;” and Justus Lipsius’s Work, of which Tristram Shandy says, that “they should have wiped it up, and said no more about it,” cannot be placed in any Competition with the Production before us. If, however, I cannot rival him in Rapidity of Composition, I trust that I shall exceed him in the more essential Branches of Solidity, Truth, and every Quality that can enforce Conviction on an unprejudiced Mind.

After this short Exordium, I will endeavour, with all the Brevity of which the Subject is susceptible;—for, my first Object is a wide Circulation;—to answer pointedly the Accusations and Calumnies either repeated or invented in this “Edinburgh Review;” not even omitting the Personalities, which, in Violation of Liberality or Decency, have been introduced into it. And in Order to fix the Writer to his “Charges,” I will take the Series as he has enumerated

them, beginning with those to which he says "I have made no Answer." They amount to six in Number, if, after all, such Allegations can deserve to be entitled *Charges*, or are susceptible of any specific Reply.

The first is, that "I impute Cowardice to  
" Louis the Sixteenth."

The second, that "I accuse Mr. Pitt, Mr.  
" Fox, and Mr. Burke, of being ready to  
" bring Lord North to the Block."

The third, that "I accuse Lord North of  
" having coalesced with Mr. Fox, from  
" *prudential* Motives."

The fourth, (if it means any thing,) arraigns  
me for attributing to Lord Thurlow, the  
Reply which he made to His Majesty,  
when the King entertained Ideas of visit-  
ing his Hanoverian Dominions.

The fifth and sixth form a complicated  
Charge; namely, that I first "impute to  
" the King, Duplicity to his Ministers;"  
and next, that "I excuse or approve his  
" Conduct."

These heavy Accusations, the "idle Ad-  
" vocate" says, "are all passed over in pro-

"found and prudent Silence." I will endeavour at least to remove that Ground of Censure.

To the *first* Charge, I reply that I never did impute *Cowardice* to Louis the Sixteenth. I have indeed said that "his personal Courage was problematical, and that he did not comport himself with the Serenity and Self-possession of Charles the First, and Mary, Queen of Scots, when laying down their Heads on the Block." But, so far have I been from endeavouring to prove that he was a Coward, I add, (after remarking on the Nature of the Guillotine, as "bereaving Death of all its Grace and Dignity,") "I have likewise seen and read very strong Attestations to the Firmness displayed by the King of France, in his last Moments." Nay, I have produced one Proof addressed to the Duke of Dorset, which declares that he died, "with the most heroic Courage." His Attempt to resist or impede the Executioners, to which I allude, might, and probably did arise from other Motives and Feelings than personal Fear. Even Marie Antoinette turned pale at Sight of the Guil-

lotine. And, after all, what Sort of a Charge is this?—The Courage of Louis the Fifteenth, nay, of Louis the Fourteenth, was problematical. So was that of Charles the Second, and even of James the Second: while Charles the First and William the Third manifested the greatest Intrepidity in the Field. I retract not one Word, nor recede from one Expression that I have used, relative to Louis the 16th. Let the Edinburgh Reviewers make the most of it.

To the *second* Charge I answer, that both *Fox* and *Burke* did many Times menace Lord North with the Scaffold, between 1779 and 1782. If any Man can doubt it, he has only to read “Woodfall’s Parliamentary Register.” But I have no where said that Mr. *Pitt*, though he expressed his Abhorrence of the American War, and of the Administration who conducted it, threatened the First Minister with the Block. These Scotch Reviewers mingle Truth with Falsehood; but it is easy to detect and expose their Arts of Deception.

I adhere to, and I maintain the Justice of every Word or Sentiment which constitutes

the Object of the *third* Charge; namely, that “ Lord North’s Junction with the Party “ which had so long opposed him, has always appeared to me to admit of much “ more Palliation, than the Conduct of Fox “ and his Adherents.” These are my Expressions, when speaking of the “ Coalition.” (See Page 310—312, second Volume of the “ Memoirs,” second Edition. Or Pages 308 and 309, of the third Volume of the third Edition.) Unquestionably, in my Opinion, Lord North acted with *Prudence*, in meeting Fox’s Overtures for a Reconciliation and Union. I do not say that he acted with Magnanimity or Elevation of Mind.

Without being affected in the smallest Degree by the Comments of the Edinburgh Reviewers, I believe on good Authority, that Lord Thurlow made the Answer to His Majesty, commemorated at Page 332 of the second Volume of the “ Memoirs;” and at Page 353 of the third Volume of the Work, in the present Edition; which forms their *fourth* Accusation.

I deny that *I* attribute to His Majesty, “ Duplicity towards his Ministers.” Let the World judge. My Words are, (Page 464 of

the second Volume, of the second Edition; or Page 596 of the third Volume of the third Edition;) "There were nevertheless, "it must be admitted, *many Individuals* "who thought that the royal Disapprobation should have been earlier signified; "and who *inclined to accuse* the King of "something like Duplicity or Deception, in "his Treatment of Administration." But, I fully admit that His Majesty's Line of Action is by me *exculpated* and *justified*, for the Reasons assigned; which Conduct of the King I approve at this Time, as much as I did in 1783. I think I cannot give a more specific Answer to the *fifth* and *sixth* Points. The Reviewers must now confess that I do not "stand mute on my Arraignment."

Having met and silenced these minor Objects of impotent and malignant Accusation, I come to the great Charge respecting Dr. Musgrave's Assertion, that "the Princess "Dowager of Wales and Lord Bute received "Money from the French Court, for aiding "to effect the Peace." The "Edinburgh "Review," with that Audacity which commonly accompanies, and sometimes shelters Ignorance, rashly ventured in their *first*

Criticism on the "Memoirs," to say that "the Tale was patronized by no one, in or out of Parliament, with the single Exception of the unscrupulous *Junius*." And now, when I have exposed their Unacquaintance with Wilkes's Letter to the Electors of Aylesbury, as well as their Inattention to the "North Briton," No. 45.; what is their Reply?—Do they venture to impugn or to deny those Corroborations? No—They say, "We are disposed by *Charity*, "to leave him undisputed Possession of "Wilkes's Address to the Electors of Aylesbury. It is absolutely *his best historical Authority*."——What more authentic Testimony or Proof can well be produced in Confirmation of any public Fact, than a Letter written by a Member of the very Parliament accused by him of Venality; dated in 1764, the Year subsequent to the Peace in Question; addressed to his own Constituents; printed and circulated at the Time, throughout the Kingdom? Such a Document outweighs twenty Pages of vulgar Abuse. The "idle Advocate" would do well to remember that *Charity* begins at home. He and his Associates will stand in need of much Indulgence for their De-

viations from Liberality, Truth, and Decorum.

The Public might with Reason censure me, if I obtruded my own private Affairs on their Notice, while repelling the Calumnies thrown on my literary Character. Nor can it be necessary for me to give any Answer to the scurrilous Personalities which the Reviewers obscurely sustain by Allusions to "Benfield's Ledger," the "Memoirs of Ossian," or the Stories of "six Members of the House of Commons sent to that Assembly, by the fair or fraudulent Creditors of the Nabob of the Carnatic." But, when they presume to assert, that "in a judicial Examination," (no doubt, before the Carnatic Commissioners,) "I *pretty intelligibly* assigned the Interest of those Creditors, as the Motive of my Vote against the India Bill, on the 1st of December, 1783," the Reviewers, or their Informers, are guilty of a *gross Violation of Truth*. It is indeed the Engine to which they systematically have Recourse, and by which alone they can attempt to colour their next Charge; namely, that when I say, "the Consciousness of all India being subjected to the *rapacious*



***Hands*** of Fox's Adherents, by no Means  
 "tended to tranquillize the public Mind,"  
 I mean to throw a Stigma on "the Com-  
 "missioners for Indian Affairs, Lord Fitz-  
 "william, the late Lord Dartmouth, the  
 "late Lord Guildford, and the late Lord  
 "Minto." Unfortunately for the Edinburgh  
 Reviewers, they have mistaken *the Time*  
 when my Observation is made, which was in  
*November*, 1783, whereas the Commissioners  
 above mentioned were not then *in Existence*;  
 the "East India Bill" in which they were  
 named, not having even passed the House  
 of Commons before the 9th of *December*.  
 It now remains therefore for these worthy  
 and candid, but, ignorant Reviewers, to ex-  
 plain, how I could by Possibility mean to  
 assert or to imply, that Commissioners who  
 were not themselves yet appointed, had  
 nevertheless already "promised or filled up  
 "the first Employments in India." My Re-  
 mark applies to the personal Promises or  
 Engagements made by *Administration*, pre-  
 vious to the Passage of the "East India Bill"  
 through the lower House. This impotent  
 Attempt to mislead, and to implicate the  
 little Passions of human Nature in the Cause  
 of Calumny, by naming four Noblemen of

high and unspotted Character, as the Objects of my Animadversion, will only revert on its Authors. The Public will judge between them and me.

In the *first* Criticism of my Work, the Reviewers accused me of "making Louis "the 15th my *Hero*," and of asserting that he "had covered himself with Glory." When I exposed the Falsehood of this Imputation, by Citations from the Book itself, proving the direct contrary; instead of confessing their Fault, and asking Pardon for such shameful Misrepresentation, what do they *now* say?—"We hurry over small Matters. "He said that Louis the 15th *had covered himself with Glory*. This we thought the "Height of Ridicule, till Sir N. employed "two Pages of what he calls his Answer, to "prove it,—which we think more ridiculous "still." And is this their Excuse for a wanton Perversion of Truth, when sitting in Judgment on a literary Work, after being exposed in all their Deformity, as twisting every Fact to their own Purposes? With similar Audacity they *invent*, where they cannot *find*, Subject for Accusation. I had already proved, by quoting my own Words,

that I never represented the King of Portugal, "as a drunken old Moor." They now assert that I have said, "He had a Face carbuncled by hard Drinking." *Where*, in *what Page*, are these Words, or any synonymous Expressions to be found? The Facility which, *Hamlet* says, accompanies the Act of violating Truth, may tempt these systematic *Munckhausens* to have Recourse to the Expedient: but they may be assured it will eventually cover them with Shame. Though slow, the Verdict of the Public will overtake them. My *Erudition* informs me, and will prove to them before the Close of 1816, that

"Raro antecedentem Scelestum

"Deseruit Pede *Pana* claudo."

But, we come now to what they denominate "higher Matter:"—for, these Men see nothing in created Nature, so *high* as their Idol. They employ two long Pages in demanding Proof that "Fox refused to lend "any personal Support to Government "during the Riots of *June*, 1780, though "Burke in the House of Commons loudly "expressed his Wish for Unanimity." What Proof would they have?—I was not then in Parliament, myself, not having been elected

till *September* of that Year. I cannot therefore assert it from my own Recollection. And if I could have done it, they would dispute my Accuracy or Veracity. The Fact is now of near thirty-six Years ago. Witnesses, therefore, such as the Reviewers call for, are not to be found every Day. But, Burke's more pronounced and unequivocal Support given to Government on that trying Occasion, was Matter of Notoriety at the Time. It grew out of the Characters of the two Individuals, which were most dissimilar, though then fighting under the same Banner. I have remarked it, when delineating the Character of Burke. Speaking of him and of Fox, ("Memoirs," Vol. 2d, Pages 39 and 40, of the second Edition; or Pages 280 and 281, of the second Volume of the third Edition,) I observe that "Even in their nearest Approximations, there were essential and striking Distinctions between the two Opposition Leaders." The Case in Question was one of them. In 1793, they diverged with inconceivable Violence, in opposite Directions, never more to be reunited. And what was the *Cause* of that Separation? Was it not because Burke "lent his personal Support to Government," against

**Insurrection, Jacobinism, Regicide, and Anarchy ; all which Fox took under his Protection, though he denominated them Liberty? This is my Answer to the Reviewers.**

They return to the Charge of my having, as they unfairly assert, declared that " Mr. Fox's Claims to Office, were unsustained " by moral Qualities." I cannot more completely answer or refute that Mis-Statement, than I have already done in my last Reply : a Mis-Statement, " only calculated for low " Purposes of Deception." The Reviewers are pleased to denominate my Justification, " a Hubble-bubble of Words, with which " they do not chuse to encumber their " Pages." I adhere fully to my Opinion of Mr. Fox, as contained in that " Hubble-bubble of Words;" and if they were his enlightened Friends, instead of his servile Admirers, they would be satisfied with the Terms in which I have spoken of him. I have nothing to retract or to alter in the Character that I have drawn of Fox. It is impartial, just, and candid ; neither dictated by Flattery, nor tinctured in any Feature by Enmity. I respect myself too much, to lend my Pen to the base Degradation of Party,

or to the vile Arts of Misrepresentation. The only Recommendation of my Work, is its Truth.

As little have I to retract any Part of my Remarks on General Fitzpatrick, and the Explanation that I gave on the Subject; except to put the Reviewers right, when, with their accustomed Regard to Truth, they make me "*admit* that I might have erred" in supposing his mental Powers to have sustained some Diminution in Brilliancy before his Decease. I made no such *Admission*. My Words are, " But, even *on a Supposition that I erred* in so imagining, how do " I deserve to have it asserted, that I seek a " disgraceful Popularity, by exposing the " Decay of Men of Genius, to make Sport " for the Rabble?" The Reviewers ought to know that an Hypothesis is not an Admission. Every Writer to the Signet can tell them that Fact.

I leave the " idle Advocate" and his Associates, to the undisturbed Enjoyment of any Triumph that they may decree to themselves, for their labored Hypercriticism on my Explanation relative to the De Witts and Van

Berkel. I hope it may console them for the Mortifications to which they must submit, from all those who appreciate the Value of moral Character.

There exists not the slightest Contradiction between my Assertion, that "George the Second considered his Son's Recovery, if it should take Place, as an Object of *the utmost Regret*;" and his nevertheless communicating the Intelligence of Frederic's Decease, to Lady Yarmouth, "without testifying either Emotion or Surprise." The Reviewers affect to suppose, that a Man may not regard an Event as in itself, under certain Points of View, rather beneficial than calamitous, without *eagerly* divulging, as a "*Piece of good News*," the Accomplishment of that Event: but, as I observed in my former Answer, "the King did not disgrace himself before Spectators, by displaying his Satisfaction at the Prince's Decease."

If the Edinburgh Reviewers display equal Ignorance and Incapacity in their *legal* Characters, as Advocates at the Bar of the Court of Session, as they have demonstrated in their *literary* Capacity, by their Attacks on

my Work, their Clients may be justly considered as Objects of Compassion. Never could this Observation have been more forcibly exemplified, than in their Defence of the Earl of Shelburne. While relating the Circumstances that accompanied his Resignation as First Minister, in February, 1783, I could not pass over in Silence, the injurious Reports circulated relative to that Nobleman ;—Reports, which Mr. Pitt characterized in Parliament, as “ the Arts of Defamation, adopted by Lord Shelburne’s Opponents, and as deserving his Scorn :”—Reports propagated by Fox’s Followers, and which were not long afterwards, (as was commonly supposed,) embodied, if I may use the Expression, by General Burgoyne, in his Comedy of “ the Heiress,” where not only “ Allscrip” forms the principal Character ; but, as we all remember, the very *Scenery* was rendered subservient to the same Effect. I believe, if my Memory does not fail me, General Fitzpatrick wrote the Prologue to this dramatic Piece; which was supported on the Shoulders of *the Party*.

Now let us see the Justification of Lord



Shelburne, set up by the Reviewers. After their usual Preface of Invective against myself, for having presumed even to mention the Existence of such Reports, they add, speaking of me, "His Logic is on a Level with his Morals. Because Mr. Burke and Mr. Lee perhaps abused the Liberty of Debate in 1782, in general Invective against Lord Shelburne, this Writer thinks himself at Liberty to impute to him, without Proof, a particular Crime of the basest Character. They, in all the Intemperance of Invective which the Heat of Debate may excuse, abstained from any Allusion to a specific Accusation. The natural Inference is, that even in that heated and disturbed State of Mind, they disbelieved all such Accusations."

Who would not suppose, on reading this Defence, that Fox's, Burke's, and Lee's Speeches in the House of Commons, above alluded to, were made *subsequent* to the Imputations thrown on Lord Shelburne? No doubt, the Reviewers so thought, by producing them on the present Occasion, as negative Attestations in Favor of that Nobleman. And what will the World think of

these ignorant Advocates, when the Truth is, that the three violent Harangues in Question, were all pronounced between the *6th, and the 11th of July, 1782*;—whereas the pretended Purchases in the Funds, were not, and could not have been made before *November, or December, 1782, or January, 1783*, previous to the Conclusion of Peace? So that Lord Shelburne's Innocence is to result from the Silence of his Enemies respecting a Fact, which could not have been even contemplated by him, or by them, till several Months after the Speeches were delivered.

——“ O Medici, mediam pertundite Venam!”

Unfortunate Lord Shelburne, to have met with such Defenders! All the Abuse which they heap on me, is Kindness, compared with such Exculpation. Pope somewhere exclaims,

“ Bless'd be the Gods for what they took away,  
And what they left me!”

I have only to hope from Providence, that whoever are my Friends, the Edinburgh Reviewers may always remain my Enemies.

I come now to the " five Russian Murders ;" an Article of Accusation against me so prominent and so laboured in their *first* Criticism on my Memoirs, on which the *present* Article exhibits a new Proof of shameless Tergiversation. I will cite their own Words, which must constitute the most severe Chastisement, to Men not lost to the Value of Character. Last *August*, after enumerating " the Deaths of the Emperor " Peter, of Prince Ivan, of the supposed " Princess Tarrakanoff, of the Grand Duchess the first Wife of Paul, and that of " the Princess of Wirtemberg ;" they add, " Such a Series of Murders, including that " of a Husband, of a *Boy*, (which Boy was " twenty-four Years old,) and of three young " Women, one of whom was a Daughter in " Law, has not been charged on any Individual, at least in the modern History of " Europe." And *now*, what is their Language?—" *We were far from blaming him " for having, in common with Europe, attributed to that Princess, a Participation in " the Murders of her Husband, of Ivan, and " of the supposed Princess Tarrakanoff.*"—By what Logic will the Reviewers reconcile these Contradictions?

Relative to the Death of the Grand Duchess, and that of the Princess of Wirtemberg, I have not a Word to alter in my Account of those Events: but, when the Reviewers add, "Count Woronzow offered, *as we read in the Newspapers*, to desist from the Prosecution against our Author, if the latter would name the Agent of the "Court of Wirtemberg," I must flatly contradict this supposed Fact, as *wholly destitute of Truth, or of any Foundation*. I have not the least Reluctance or Hesitation to repeat, as I now do for the third Time in Print, that I regret having very inadvertently mentioned Count Woronzow's Name, in a Manner painful or injurious to his Feelings. But, the Duke de Sorrentino, of whom Lord Blaney expressed himself in the most severe Terms, was contented to receive an Apology from him, only a few Weeks ago, in the Court of King's Bench, upon Lord Blaney's expressing his Concern and Sorrow for the Offence.

I have still to notice one more gross Deviation from Fact on the part of the Reviewers:—a Deviation which must have been intentional, unless they never read my

"Answer" to their Calumnies, which they so severely criticize. They asserted in their *first* Review of my Work, that "not a single Anecdote contained in it, could be believed on my Testimony." When I cited various specific Facts, and called on them to contradict me if they dared; what is their Reply?—"We only said that *we thought it safest* to believe nothing, merely because he says it. And in this he evidently concurs: for, he in this very Place enumerates the *few trust-worthy Passages* of his Book, *which are all attested by other Witnesses*, and may therefore undoubtedly be believed, notwithstanding the negative Power of his Testimony."—But, besides the *particular* Circumstances to which I referred, I added, "Which of the *numerous Particulars* recounted of *George the Third*, of *Lord North*, or of *Mr. Pitt*, do they presume to deny?"—Here was a *sweeping* Challenge thrown out to the Reviewers, comprehending probably *fourscore* or more Anecdotes, scattered through the two Volumes, *not attested by other Witnesses*.—Really, the "idle Advocate" and his Associates, must either hold the Understanding of their Readers in great Contempt, or can set little Value on

the Opinions of Mankind, when they thus wantonly sacrifice Truth, Impartiality, and every Quality that can render them estimable as Men and as Reviewers, to the Gratification of unworthy Feelings. Their Conduct will carry with it, its own Punishment.

It cannot be expected that I should attempt to answer the vulgar Reflections which they make on the *Sale* of my Work, when in one Place they say, "It is no sort of Wonder that with such Allurements, his Sale should have rivalled that of the *Jockey Club*, or the *Crimes of Cabinets*:" while elsewhere they observe, alluding to the *Number* sold, "In almost any former Period, St. Giles's would have polled more than *two Thousand*." They conclude with an Epigram; which, though ascribed to a "young Gentleman of Oxford," smells strongly of the *North Loch*. I have only one Remark to make upon it, namely, that as it accuses me of *misdating* Facts, I will venture to defy both *Oxford* and *Edinburgh*, though both are Seats of Learning, to point out *four* Errors of that Nature in my two Volumes, which contain twelve Hundred Pages. Now here I have afforded Subject at once of Occupa-

tion and of Triumph to the Reviewers, if they mean or dare to abide by their own Accusation. If they are silent, let them look to it. Guilt and Shame find their only Refuge in Silence.

I have now answered every Charge made against me, without omitting, as far as I am able, even the slightest Insinuation contained in the "Edinburgh Review." Those worthy Gentlemen, towards the Conclusion, say, "We hope not again to be obliged to notice this Writer. But we shall think Ourselves bound to *watch* him." As I have, in this Answer, given them some Subject on which to exercise their wholesome *Vigilance*; after such a Promise made to the Public, there can be no doubt of our hearing again soon from them. Besides, since the eighteenth of June last, that day of Humiliation and Dismay to all worthy *Jacobins*, the Edinburgh Reviewers have probably more Leisure, and less Occupation for their precious Time. I have been assured from respectable Authority, that the *Number* of their loyal *Review*, in which they did me the Honor first to notice and to criticize my "*Memoirs*," was considerably delayed on Account of the Propriety and Necessity of can-

